The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 11, 1899.

The Week.

Mr. Edward Atkinson's pamphlets, which have caused such a tremendous pother in the cabinet at Washington, and have been excluded from the mails going to the Philippine Islands, are three in number, the first and second being stitched together, so that they appear to be only one. The first is far from being an exciting or incendiary publication. It is entitled 'The Cost of a National Crime,' and it consists of statistical information, very useful, indeed, but of the dryest possible sort, showing what the revenue and expenditures of the government were before the war with Spain, what they were during the war, from what sources the war revenue is derived, together with some argument on the question whether the new taxes will be sufficient to meet the future expenses of the government. This pamphlet was written before the war in the Philippines began. Its conclusions are that the present tax laws will not afford sufficient revenue to meet the ordinary expenses of the government, and that it is for Congress to consider whether "the holding of tropical islands by armed forces is to cease at an early day, or is to be continued under the necessity of adding by direct taxation a large sum to our present burden, coupled with a heavy increase in the future burden," etc. Nothing can be conceived of less likely to excite mutiny or discontent among soldiers than these tables of statistics, with their percentages and per capitas and deficits and averages and so forth. The second pamphlet, which is stitched together with the first, has the rather exciting headline, 'The Hell of War and its Penalties,' but it is not in the least likely to cause mutiny among soldiers. It relates to a class of contagious diseases common in camp life, but of a kind which any soldier can avoid if he chooses. This is largely statistical also, the facts being derived from the experience of the British army in India.

Mr. Atkinson's pamphlet No. 3 is evidently the one which has stirred the cabinet so profoundly, and led to the issue of the order of the Postmaster-General excluding it from the mails to Manila. It is entitled 'Criminal Aggression: by Whom Committed.' It is dated February 2, with an appendix dated March 8, 1899. It begins with an allusion to the phrase "criminal aggression" used hypothetically by President McKinley to describe forcible annexation of Cuba. It then reviews President McKinley's speech at the Home-Market Club in Boston in a temperate manner, but showing up his inconsistencies and his frequent changes of policy and of phraseology in dealing with the Filipinos. After commenting on Mr. McKinley's frequent "flops," Mr. Atkinson publishes two letters written by Consul-General Pratt of Singapore and Consul Wildman of Hong Kong concerning their interviews with Aguinaldo; also the testimony of the Rev. Clay MacCauley, a missionary, as to the character and capabilities of the Filipinos. Mr. MacCauley says, among other things, that the most intelligent and thoughtful soldiers and sailors in the American army now in the Philippines "are increasingly opposed to the proposition to incorporate the Philippine people into the American body politic." The remainder of the pamphlet is plain argument controverting Mr. McKinley's speech at the Home-Market Club, and a few extracts from the speeches of Congressmen Henry U. Johnson and Rice A. Pierce in the House of Representatives. We find in it nothing calculated to cause mutiny among soldiers. It is undoubtedly very aggravating to have one's inconsistencies set down in black and white, as Mr. McKinley's are in this third pamphlet, but it was an enormous political mistake to draw attention to it by excluding it from the mails going to Manila. Only six thousand copies of this pamphlet had been sent out, and only six copies to the Philippines, but with the advertisement that the Postmaster-General has given it, the demand for it will be increased a hundred fold. The price of the pamphlet is two dollars per hundred copies, and Mr. Atkinson asks for pecuniary help to pay for printing and mailing. Address: Edward Atkinson, Box 112, Boston, Mass. The pamphlet has not yet been excluded from the mails of this country, and Mr. Atkinson has not been arrested by any United States Marshal on a charge of high treason.

Amos Kendall was Postmaster-General in 1835 when the mob broke open the Charleston post-office and burnt anti-slavery tracts and papers found in the mails. A committee was then appointed to inspect "incendiary matter," with the postmaster's connivance. When appealed to by this official to lay down a policy, Mr. Kendall said that, upon a careful examination of the law, he was satisfied that the Postmaster-General had no legal authority to exclude publications from the mail, or prohibit their carriage or delivery, "on account of their character or tendency, real or supposed"; and he expressed the opinion that "probably it was not thought safe to confer on the head of an executive department a power over the press which might be perverted or abused." He proceeded, however, to justify the action of the Charleston postmaster, as follows:

> "But I am not prepared to direct you to forward or deliver the papers of which you speak. The Post-Office Department was created to serve the people of *each* and *all* of the *United States*, and not to be used as the instrument of their *destruction*. None of the papers detained have been forwarded to me, and I cannot judge for myself of their character and tendency; but you inform me that they are, in character, 'the most inflammatory and incendiary—and insurrectionary in the highest degree.' By no act or direction of mine, official or private, could I be induced to aid, knowingly, in giving circulation to papers of this description, directly or indirectly. We owe an obligation to the laws, but a higher one to the communities in which we live, and if the *former* be perverted to destroy the *latter*, it is patriotism to disregard them. Entertaining these views, I cannot sanction, and will not condemn, the step you have taken. Your justification must be looked for in the character of the papers detained and the circumstances by which you are surrounded."

Charles Emory Smith goes a step further in the service of imperialism than Amos Kendall in the service of slavery. He considers it entirely proper for the head of an executive department to decide what sort of matter may be circulated through the mails, and orders a subordinate to prevent the transmission of matter which he disapproves.

One of the most painful features of the expansion craze has been the readiness of many of even our foremost men to turn demagogue to please either the war inebriates or the McKinley Administration, to abandon the political principles of their lifetime, and degrade the sacred name of "patriotism." The latest illustration is, we regret to say, General Merritt's pilgrimage to Detroit in order to whitewash Secretary Alger. Four commanding officers in succession recommended Alger's dismissal from the army for apparent cowardice during the civil war; we say "apparent" or technical cowardice, consisting in absence from the front and from his post at critical moments. He was thus absent several times in succession, showing it was not due to accident, but to policy. Gen. Merritt was one of these commanding officers. Sheridan was another. Alger resigned to avoid dismissal. A fair inference was that he preferred politics or nosing and lobbying around Washington to service in the field, and that he was therefore unfit for military service or military administration. We venture to assert that in any army in the world, except McKinley's army, this inference would have been drawn. We venture to assert that the English, whom Secretary Long cites as approving of the President as a conqueror, would be shocked if they knew and believed that the great man's Secretary of War was a person of this description. Alger got the place partly, no doubt, because he was an active and rich Michigan politician; partly, common

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rumor says, because he advanced money to secure Mr. McKinley's nomination. The main features of his administration of the office are known to tens of thousands by results; they are known to many hundreds by personal contact with him. There is not a single incident of the late war better or more widely known than that Alger has conducted it as a politician's war. We have heard him pronounced "unspeakably base and corrupt" by a man of the very highest character, who was in close contact with him during the whole Cuban flurry.

In other words, his conduct of the War Department has been exactly what any one would have expected it to be at the hands of a man who had had to leave the army for misconduct, and had passed the last thirty years in active politics. One of the first revelations of his quality in popular estimation was his failure to give Gen. Merritt a high command. Everybody knew or guessed why, doubtless Gen. Merritt himself, among others. Gen. Merritt, when Alger's superior, with judgment unfettered, expressed that judgment by recommending his dismissal from the service. When Alger became Gen. Merritt's superior, he would not have been a good politician if he did not "get even" with Merritt. The general opinion was that he had "got even" with him. The general opinion now is that Gen. Merritt came to terms with him somehow, and was accordingly sent to Manila on an important mission. There was a general disposition to overlook this, to commend Alger for having experienced sufficient repentance to give the country the services of a soldier of the first quality. But we could not have loved Gen. Merritt so much, "loved we not honor more." It is because we rated him so highly that we are astounded at seeing him go down and unnecessarily give the Secretary a first-class politician's whitewashing, in terms so extravagant that it is hard to believe it came from a soldier.

Eagan has been expelled from the District of Columbia Commandery of the Loyal Legion by a two-thirds vote, a proceeding which is likely to be viewed with much disfavor at the White House. A great effort was made to save him, his champions in the Legion, according to the *Tribune's* account of the meeting, contending "that his punishment was severe and humiliating enough as it is at present, and that it would not be proper, considering his past services in the army, to drop him from the rolls." What is his present "severe punishment"? He was found guilty by court-martial of conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman, and he has been convicted before the country, together with Alger, of feeding the army with putrid beef, but he has not been punished for it. The President, instead of dismissing him from the army, as the court-martial recommended, gave him a six years' vacation at full pay, and he is at present on his way to Hawaii for an indefinite period of rest and recreation. This is not "severe punishment," and it is a credit to the Washington members of the Loyal Legion that they declined to consider it as such.

Senator Hanna has kindly announced that Mr. McKinley is already as good as renominated and reëlected. It will be a waste of time and money for any one else to make a canvass for either nomination or election. Hanna himself has said it, and he knows. He is unanimous for McKinley, and that means that the country is. By thus identifying the workings of his own mind with a vast popular movement, he is able to dismiss with a smile any little troubles that would disturb a less serene and self-confident nature. There is, for example, a cloud much bigger than a man's hand right at home in Ohio. Those inveterate and implacable factions which have made Ohio Republicanism a synonym for petty quarrelsomeness and greed, are flying at each other's throats again. Mayor McKisson of Cleveland is openly calling Hanna a "traitor" for having opposed his reëlection, and we know what the fate of traitors is. Gov. Bushnell and Chairman Kurtz are ostentatiously whetting their knives in public, and loudly calling upon Foraker to join them in the great work of disembowelling Hanna, or else find out what it is to have an exploratory operation, as the surgeons say, in his own viscera. Foraker is dreadfully embarrassed by the riches of faction and party treachery thus laid before him, and knows not which friend to betray or to which foe to sell himself. To crown all, there is the Republico-Socialist Mayor of Toledo, who has just triumphed over both party machines, and is now intimating broadly that he is the very man to be the next Republican Governor of Ohio. All these cares, however, do not fleck the mirror in which Hanna reads the future. He has got the McKinley renomination going on such broad and national lines, and has his Southern delegates so securely bought, that he is able to face turmoil and even defeat in Ohio as a mere "local affair."

Dr. Lyman Abbott's letter to the Chicago Imperialist meeting on Sunday was thrown into the form of a series of propositions, the second of which reads: "By the destruction of the Spanish fleet the power of that Government [the Spanish in the Philippines] to protect persons and property in the archipelago was destroyed." If he had said "impaired," it might pass, but he needed "destroyed" for his argument, and so he said it. But what are the facts? Even with Dewey still in the bay, even with an insurgent army of 30,000 men in the field, the Spaniards held Manila in perfect security for four months and a half; they held Iloilo and Cebu against all assaults. Who can doubt that, if Dewey had sailed away, as Senator Sewell besought the President to order him to do, the Spaniards would have sent on supplies and reinforcements, and asserted their sovereignty throughout the islands much more successfully than we have as yet been able to do? This may be crying over spilled milk; but what Dr. Abbott does is to go back and assert that the milk simply had to be spilled.

There is choice in courts of inquiry. The one which has just reported on the conduct of the Seventy-first Regiment, New York Volunteers, at Santiago, evidently took the strange view of its duty that it was to make a thorough inquiry, without fear or favor. It found and placed the blame with refreshing frankness. Only one of the sadly inculpated officers is now within the State's military jurisdiction, and he has been promptly ordered by the Governor to appear before a board of examination "into his moral character, capacity, and general fitness for service in the National Guard." Gov. Roosevelt, moreover, shows his difference from a certain other commander-in-chief, whom it is treason to mention by name, in not desiring everything to be hushed up; but has expressed his opinion and made his recommendations with military precision and plainness. The net result is to clear the good name of the rank and file of the regiment, while for ever disgracing its three senior officers.

According to the best information obtainable, the caucus committee on the currency who have been holding sessions at Atlantic City, have agreed upon three points in the bill which they are preparing for the Republican members of Congress. These are (1) that the currency functions of the Treasury shall be separated from its other functions, and that a fund of $100,000,000 shall be set apart for the redemption of the Government's legal-tender notes, and for no other purpose; (2) that legal-tender notes once redeemed in gold shall not be paid out again except in exchange for gold; (3) that the Secretary shall have power to replenish his stock of gold by the issue of bonds when necessary. The last of these provisions is in the law as it now stands, and was made use of by Secretary Carlisle for the purpose of maintaining the gold reserve. We presume that the proposed new law will give the Secretary power to sell bonds on the best terms possible as to rate of interest and time of payment—the present law, which was passed a quarter of a century ago, fixing the rate of in-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

terest at 4, 4½, and 5 per cent., and the time ten, fifteen, and thirty years respectively. This antique system caused the Government to incur serious loss in the several loans which Secretary Carlisle was obliged to negotiate, yet Congress refused to change the law, lest it should thereby give its assent to the effort which the Secretary was making to continue gold payments. If the committee at Atlantic City are now ready to bind the Republican party to the principle that the Secretary may sell bonds when necessary to maintain gold payments, that fact alone betokens a great advance in public sentiment since 1895.

Within the past fortnight a mob of several hundred men in Idaho made a raid on a mining town where some non-union men were working. They drove the latter from the works where they were employed, killed some of them as they were fleeing, and accidentally shot one of their own leaders, who died almost immediately. They burned and blew up with dynamite the buildings and machinery of the works where the non-union men had been employed, destroying property valued at $300,000 to $500,000. Then they marched back to the places where they belonged, with all the air and complacency of conquerors. The local authorities either stood mute or encouraged the rioters in their lawless proceedings. Two companies of the Fourth Cavalry, United States Army, were ordered to the place where the outrages occurred, to protect the State officials in arresting the perpetrators. The latter made a break for the mountains with all possible expedition, and the woods are now full of them. Some of them are footing it to Montana, while others are hiding in the brush. One hundred and twenty-eight arrests have been made, however, and probably others will follow. The spirit of the mob has been extinguished and their organization crushed. The non-union men are back at their work, while the rioters have lost their places and dare not show themselves anywhere in Idaho. The suddenness with which law and order were restored when the troops arrived, reminds one of the suppression of the Debs riots in Chicago. In the present case the Governor of the State called on the President of the United States for assistance. There were only two regiments of State militia within reach, and one of these, if not both, was composed in large part of the same kind of material as the rioters. So it was deemed not expedient to call them out. In the case of the Debs riot there was plenty of good State troops, but the Governor was of the same kind of material as the rioters. That was the notable difference between the two cases.

The details of the agreement between Great Britain and Russia respecting China, as published, are commendably brief, yet comprehensive. Great Britain engages not to seek for herself, or in behalf of others, railway concessions north of the Great Wall, and not to obstruct Russian applications for concessions there. Russia enters into a similar engagement towards Great Britain relative to the basin of the Yang-tse River, and both are to communicate this agreement to the Chinese Government, with a view to the avoidance of all complications between the two Powers, to the preservation of peace, and the promotion of the best interests of China herself. Although the agreement provides only for abstention on the part of each Power from certain acts with reference to the other, the phrase "sphere of influence" is already applied to the territory designated, and this means usually something more than non-interference with each other's sphere. It comes, in the course of time, to mean something like control. Although not operative against third parties, it is apt to grow into control. It looks, too, as though space had been purposely left for a German sphere of influence in the valley of the Hoang Ho, or Yellow River, which lies between the Great Wall and the valley of the Yang-tse. Included in this space is Kiao-Chau Bay, which Germany now holds. Already we find stirrings in the German press, implying that it is time for Germany to define her sphere of influence in the vast empire between the Yellow Sea and the Thibetan Mountains. If we assume that these spheres of influence are likely to ripen into control, then Great Britain has secured the best part of the bargain. The Yang-tse River is three thousand miles in length, two thousand of which are navigable. It has also numerous navigable affluents. Its watershed embraces the province of Yunnan, which borders on British Burmah, affording entrance at some future time by rail to western China. Tin, lead, copper, and coal are among the resources of this vast region. The climate is said to be good for white men and the soil fertile.

It is generally understood that the Czar was led to make his famous disarmament proposals by the arguments of his Minister of Finance, M. Witte. That gentleman showed to demonstration how increasing armaments meant financial ruin. Be that as it may, the same official has lately taken his place among enlightened publicists by a report which he has made on the rights of foreigners in Russia, and especially on the need of foreign capital to develop Russian resources. Proposals had been made to the Russian Government to restrict the right of foreigners to hold land in the Transcaucasus, and this led Minister Witte to discuss the whole subject of the dependence of Russia upon foreign capital. His conclusion was that "to refuse the coöperation of foreign capitalists in the exploitation of the natural riches of Russia would be tantamount to voluntary acquiescence in industrial stagnation." In the same document were frank expressions relating to the duty of Russia to cultivate the good will and confidence of England. The English market, said the Russian Minister, with a cruel disregard of the feelings of Paris, is "a much larger one than that of France," and good relations with it depended much more upon political than upon economical reasons, since public opinion in England led capitalists to back their sympathies with their cash.

From the most recent Dreyfus testimony the case would seem to have sunk into a bitter quarrel between the War Office and the Foreign Office. The latest man, Capt. Cuignet, put up by the General Staff to defend the theory of Dreyfus's guilt, threw over one after another of the former theories and tools relied on by the War Office, and came out strong on a certain dispatch by a foreign attaché intercepted by the Foreign Office. This closed with the words, as the translators of the cipher made them out, "our emissary is forewarned"—the emissary being, of course, Dreyfus. But at the very time this dispatch was turned over to the General Staff, it was with a warning that the translators were very uncertain about the version of the last sentence; later on, they sent a new and verified rendering, with nothing whatever in it about any emissary. But the Staff, in spite of this, stuck to the first version, and convicted Dreyfus partly on the strength of it. Capt. Cuignet had the effrontery to declare that he still believed the first translation the correct one, and intimated that the Foreign Office had falsified the telegram. The Foreign Minister, M. Delcassé, could not stand this, and at once sent one of his experts before the Court of Cassation, who not only completely demolished Capt. Cuignet on the particular point, but went further and demonstrated that other documents in the secret *dossier*, professing to have come from the Foreign Office, were not only garbled, but actually forged. Thus does every new weapon which the desperate General Staff catches up to use against Dreyfus break in its hands. The *Figaro* revelations are having a tremendous effect in preparing public opinion for a complete reversal of the popular judgment, whatever the decision of the Court may be. It is now rumored that the *Figaro* secured the documents from the daughter of one of the Ministers, who wished, by giving them to the light, to "put an end to the dangerous mystery and to attempts to mislead." This hypothetical "veiled lady" is the best one that has yet appeared in the whole case.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"INCENDIARY LITERATURE."

We have been waiting for some time for the appearance of "incendiary literature." We have been as sure it was coming as that the sun would rise this morning. "Incendiary literature" is one of the invariable properties or accompaniments of imperialism. As soon as you get people under your rule who dislike it and wish to throw it off, "incendiary literature" turns up. It was one of the most marked phenomena of American politics during the whole of the anti-slavery agitation. Nearly all Northern literature was "incendiary" at the South, and each postmaster was allowed to pass on its character and exclude it from the mails. Russia and Germany both have their incendiary literature, whose circulation has to be forbidden and whose authors have to be punished. British India has the same thing, and so has President Krüger. For our foreign possessions, incendiary literature is as necessary as soldiers and guns. You cannot rule any men against their will, or inflict on them any treatment which they consider unjust, without treating their favorite literature as "incendiary," without, in short, superintending their reading, and seeing to it that they read nothing which presents you to them in an unfavorable light. The censor is as needful to you as the drummer. No conqueror can bear free speech, or has ever borne it. Therefore, we were not surprised that Gen. Otis had to veil his great battles with a rigid censorship, that the free talk of American citizens "on the soil," to use Wendell Phillips's language, "consecrated by the prayers of the Puritans and the blood of patriots," had to be kept from the knowledge not only of the "niggers" whom he was slaughtering, but of the American whites who were doing the slaughtering. The language of freemen and the sound of conquerors' guns go ill together.

While acknowledging freely, however, the imperialist's right, if he has any rights, to gag and smother as a necessary incident in his odious trade, we must remind our "glory-crowned" Americans once more that their position is peculiar; that nice as it would be to become a great nation and to prove Washington an old fool, all at once, they have to contend with special difficulties which other imperialists know nothing of, and which are destined to plague them, just as an humble home and poor relations plague an adventurer who has been palming himself off in foreign parts as a marquis of ancient lineage.

An American conqueror, as we have more than once had the honor to point out to him, is the only conqueror who holds his authority to conquer for only four years. At the expiration of that term, as even President Low and Dr. Lyman Abbott must acknowledge, he has to step down and out, and lay all his doings before the base multitude, explain them and justify them, and run the risk, if he does not satisfy it by open, ungagged discussion, of being dismissed from office. This is dreadfully humiliating for a conqueror. It is enough to make his patriotic sword fly from its scabbard and hit the "traitors" over the head. But so it is. Every American conqueror has to be elected every four years by the vote of people whose opinions are, both in fact and by law and constitution, formed and clarified by free discussion. This makes all censorships on American soil, all attempts to silence anything any man wishes to say, or to prevent any voter from seeing it and reading in security and at his leisure, treason of the worst kind, and any conqueror or President who orders it or sanctions it, worthy of impeachment. This is American law and polity, and has been so for one hundred and ten years. Even McKinley and his syndicate must govern themselves accordingly. We cannot be easily argued into slavery.

There is one other point to which we must call the attention of the great minds at Washington. The American conqueror is the only conqueror who has to let the army vote on his own conduct. In Russia or Germany or British India, the proposal to allow the soldiers to pass at the polls upon the object or causes or manner of conducting the campaign would excite shouts of laughter; but to this humiliation the great McKinley has to submit next year. The army in the Philippines and in Cuba and in Porto Rico will have the right to say what it thinks of him, not only as President of the United States, but as a slaughterer of foreigners who have never injured him and owe him no allegiance. In making up their minds about him, the soldiers are entitled to see not only what Dr. Lyman Abbott and President Seth Low say about him, but what Edward Atkinson, William James, Senator Hoar, J. Laurence Laughlin, and Edwin Burrit Smith say about him. What they say is not complimentary; it is humiliating for a first-class conqueror to have to listen to it, but it is the law, revered McKinley. If you do not like this sort of thing, you should not have taken the place. You knew its conditions, and you knew how the American Government was framed. You knew it was not adapted to the conquering business, and you should, therefore, never have gone into the conquering business. You should have led a quiet, sober, and peaceable life, suited to your capacity and to the laws of your country. But you are now engaged not only in slaughtering men for not allowing you to rob them peacefully, but in preventing your own electors from seeing any accounts of your conduct or comments on it, except such as you yourself have concocted or edited; and yet you call yourself an American, and so do the members of your syndicate!

THE TRUE POINT.

The lingering among us of what we have called the "war drunkenness," or that temporary suspension of the reasoning faculty and sense of legality which always and everywhere accompanies war, is producing an almost comic outbreak of absurdity about the Atkinson pamphlets. The shouts of "treason" and "sedition" they have called forth, show how completely even a "war of humanity" drowns knowledge of our own history and Constitution. Many of these crazy shouters are apparently not aware that treason in the United States is defined by the Constitution thus: "Treason against the United States shall consist *only* in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, by giving them aid or comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court." Now, why was this definition made? Because, as Story explains in his book on the Constitution, "Free governments as well as despotic governments have been ready to convict, upon the most slender proof, some of their most distinguished and virtuous statesmen, as well as persons of inferior character. They have inflamed into the criminality of treason acts of just resistance to tyranny, and tortured a manly freedom of opinion into designs subversive of the government." Story here evidently had England in his eye, but though the attacks of the English Government on liberty have been more heinous than any recorded of ours, they were none of them so comic as the utterances and acts of our thoughtful Postmaster-General or of our revered President.

To commit treason under the law, Atkinson would have to render direct aid to the Filipinos, or openly adhere to their cause by "overt acts" proved, not by the thoughtful Postmaster-General, but by two witnesses. An overt act, these people must remember, is an act that can be seen and described, not an act which can only be inferred by the revered McKinley or the thoughtful Smith from language about them which they do not like. It cannot be extracted from a "manly freedom of opinion." There is no such thing in America as "constructive treason," or any longer in England, so that all that has been said about Atkinson's "treason" is pure "blatherskite."

The illustrious men composing our cabinet have apparently forgotten also that there is no such thing as "sedition" in America, any more than "treason." If, instead of inveighing against "this man Atkinson" for questioning their wisdom, they had devoted a little of their precious time to the study of American history, they would have learn-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ed that an act creating what was called "sedition"—that is, unpleasant criticism of the McKinleys and Smiths of that day—was passed by the Federalists in 1798, and there were numerous prosecutions under it. But it excited such popular indignation that when it expired by limitation in 1801, an attempt to extend it failed, after it had already ruined the Federal party beyond redemption. Free speech may, therefore, now well say to our present great men, as Cicero said to Mark Antony: "I have despised the swords of Catiline; I am not going to be afraid of yours." To face Adams and Hamilton and run from McKinley and Smith, would inflict indelible disgrace on any cause.

Do these worthies know or do they not know that the volunteers in the Philippines are voters, and will next year pass on McKinley and his war at the polls, and that, therefore, to question their right to hear, to know, and to argue freely over his fitness for his place, is a crime for which in calmer times these worthies would be impeached? Do they know that in 1864, when the Republic was in danger of which it now knows nothing, the following resolution was passed by the Democratic National Convention at Chicago?

"Resolved, That this convention does explicitly declare, as the sense of the American people, that after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war, during which, under the pretence of a military necessity or war-power higher than the Constitution, the Constitution itself has been disregarded in every part, and public and private right alike trodden down, and the material prosperity of the country essentially impaired, justice, humanity, liberty, and the public welfare demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities, with a view to an ultimate convention of the States, or other peaceable means, to the end that, at the earliest practicable moment, peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union of the States."

Do they know, or do they not, that this resolution was voted on by the soldiers in the field, without let or hindrance, under Lincoln, and that the copperhead newspapers circulated freely in the camps? If they do not know, ought they not, in common decency, to get back to their villages and acknowledge that the job is too much for them?

Gov. Thomas of Colorado, in announcing his intention to exhaust all his resources in forcing the Administration to send home the troops of the State who are perishing by inches in McKinley's war, is doing exactly what the Republicans did in 1799. When dealing with a man or a party that is, in your opinion, overthrowing the Constitution and destroying the public liberties under pretence of being superhumanly wise and virtuous, you must use such means as public opinion warrants. We ought not tamely to submit to the conversion of the Republic into an Empire by simple slaughter and plunder. Reason and law and justice are the only weapons we should ever suffer to make American revolutions.

SAVAGERY AS A CIVILIZER.

Since the Georgia lynching, one of the most shocking and discouraging spectacles of modern times, there has been apparently a slight recrudescence of Southern interest in the "negro problem." One of the best evidences of this that we have seen is a paper by the Rev. Robert Campbell, the pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Asheville, N. C. We say this, not because we agree with him as to all his remedies, but because he shows real and rational concern about the evil. What we need to-day in America is not so much skill in concocting cures as concern about evils. Indifference about either public or private morals is the curse of our day and nation. We too readily flatter ourselves that as long as our young men are ready to shoulder a musket for $13 a month, and attack somebody at the order of a politician, their neglect of all the diseases of the state is of minor consequence. We have been told by an orator who was of our way of thinking, that, having to address an audience of Ohio farmers in 1884 on the charges against Blaine, he told them in opening that he was not nearly as desirous of having them believe these charges, as having them *care* whether they were true or false. It is not given to us always to *know* what is right, but caring whether a thing is right or wrong is every man's duty.

The fact that a large body of professing Christians assembled in Georgia on a Sunday and ran excursion-trains to carry sight-seers of all ages to see an ignorant savage not only burnt at the stake, but hacked to pieces with Christian jackknives, put to death by slow torture, and his carcass divided into relics to be carried to Christian homes, was one of the most awful incidents of modern times, because it seemed to be the deliberate repudiation by a large community of both its religion and its civilization. It was worse than any occurrence of the Middle Ages. The mediævals, though having much less enlightenment and education, punished crime on the same principle as the Georgia mob, but with comparative decency, in secret dungeons. The Spaniards burnt thousands of persons because of their beliefs, but they thought that burning them publicly was rendering God's service. Our lynchings, which Dr. Campbell says have amounted to nearly 2,500 during the last fifty years, have been the result, not of any theory of crime or punishment, but of a simple desire for vengeance, such as the African or Indian savage feels when he goes on the war-path. The main horror of it all is, that these attacks have gone on increasing in numbers and atrocity for forty years, and that the last was the worst.

But the worst feature of the case is that, after thirty years of lynching and of the "negro problem," nothing has been done or planned to solve the problem by the nation whose special work it is. We have deliberately, clergy, teachers, philosophers, editors, and all, engaged voluntarily in a war, ostensibly for the benefit of a race at the other end of the earth, of whose existence we were not cognizant until last year, and who have no claim on us in law or morals. Could there be a more ostentatious admission that we had no problem at home worthy of our care or attention? If a woman went to a ball when her child was dangerously ill, would it not be regarded as an open confession that she did not care for it? Considering, in fact, the condition of a large part of our own population, both white and black, is not this war almost a denial of God?

Looking at what Dr. Campbell offers by way of remedy or solution, we see that he relies mainly on the Presbyterian Church. "The Presbyterian Church can do more for the negro than any other," "The Presbyterian Church believes that it is peculiarly fitted to give the negro what he needs," and so on. Now we say, with all due respect, that it is the eternal iteration of this sort of talk which prevents any attempt at a real national solution of the negro problem. It must be solved, if it can be solved, by the united heartfelt effort of the whole community, such an effort as carried the war of the Revolution or the Civil War to a successful issue. Congressmen, and politicians generally, are only too ready to leave it to the Presbyterian Church, or any other church which cares to bother with it, or read papers about it, or relieve them of it. The churches have had it before them for nearly half a century, and how much progress have they made with it? How much have they helped the negro, or how far have they gone in convincing the whites that something needs to be done about him? Were not many of the Georgia mob professing Christians? And, last of all, how long is it since the Church ceased to make any effort to control or purify public opinion? Were not the clergy among the promoters of the present war? Is there any monstrosity which enlists the sympathies of large numbers which does not find many of the ministers tumbling over each other in trying to make it appear that it is just or true? Why has it already come to be considered good American doctrine that even American preachers of righteousness must not say anything to annoy "the people" when they are bent on any piece of folly or wickedness? Dr. Campbell may rest assured that if he has no better cure to offer, negro crimes will be punished fifty years hence as they are to-day.

THE BEEF VERDICT.

The two leading conclusions of the court of inquiry as to the quality of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

beef supplied to our troops during the war with Spain, are in accordance with the evidence and will be accepted as fairly just by the country. The court finds that so far as the canned roast beef was concerned, the charges which Gen. Miles made against it as an unsuitable ration are sustained, but that as regards the use of chemicals in the treatment of refrigerated beef his charges were not established. If instead of saying "not established," the court had said "not fully sustained," its verdict would have been above criticism on these two points. There was evidence of the use of chemicals, but it was not conclusive and was flatly contradicted. There is no doubt whatever that the use of the refrigerated beef was a blunder, but there was very little evidence to sustain a more serious charge than that against it.

But while the court has found justly on these points, it is difficult to read its report without feeling that its members did so reluctantly, and that, if left to follow their inclinations, they would have censured Gen. Miles and allowed everybody else concerned to go free. Gen. Miles is the one person involved whom they allow no extenuating circumstance to benefit in their report. At every opportunity they take the worst possible view of his conduct, while almost invariably taking the most lenient view possible of nearly everybody else. One feels as he reads the report that, in the minds of its members, the offence of Gen. Miles in calling public attention to the bad beef and in collecting evidence which established its badness, was far greater than that of Eagan in supplying it to the army. They censure him for not making formal complaints at an earlier date to the War Department about the quality of the beef, and say he made none till after hostilities had ceased. Did not many witnesses, officers and men, testify that they made no formal complaints because they knew it would do no good if they did? And was not the main question at issue before the court, "Was bad beef supplied to the army by the Commissary Department?" If it was, is not the question of formal complaint by any officer a minor one? Yet in this report it occupies very nearly the first place.

So far as the findings of the court apply to Eagan's conduct, they are condemnatory in general terms, but they do not seek to go behind him for the reasons of his conduct. They say that though canned roast beef was very little used as a ration previous to the war, Eagan bought 7,000,000 pounds within a very brief period, taking it wherever he could find it, even in England, and thus pass judgment upon him:

"Considering the little use that had been made of this beef in the regular army, the probability that the volunteers were entirely ignorant of it, that its use as a part of the field ration had never been sanctioned by the President or Secretary of War, the court can but characterize the action of the Commissary-General of Subsistence as unwarranted and reckless, in that he ordered the purchase of such enormous quantities of a food that was practically untried and unknown, and the court so finds. The court also finds that there is no ground for any imputation whatever of any other actuating motive on the part of the Commissary-General than the earnest desire to procure the best possible food for the troops. The court pronounces this act of the Commissary-General of Subsistence a colossal error, for which there is no palliation."

That passage is a perfect sample of the tone of the report. The President and Secretary of War are exonerated carefully from all knowledge of the "colossal error," and Eagan himself, while charged with a "colossal error," for which "there is no palliation," is exonerated with the statement that he had no other motive than to procure the best possible food for the troops. No attention whatever is paid to the evidence of several reputable witnesses that Eagan had told them that he had to buy of certain contractors; none is paid, either, to the evidence of Eagan's subordinates that he himself so altered the refrigerated beef contracts that no one could say whether they called for preservation for seventy-two hours or twenty-four. Leniency of this kind is never shown toward Gen. Miles. Why did not the court seek to ascertain what the compulsion upon Eagan was that made him commit this colossal error which was without palliation? Why did they not go more thoroughly into the contracts and see what there was in them which might be of interest?

Then, too, why do the members of the same court who take so stern and unrelenting a view of everything Gen. Miles did, go out of their way to give a certificate of character to all the packers who supplied the beef? They cannot do this without ignoring the great bulk of the testimony that the officers and men who tried to eat the beef gave before them. These witnesses declared that even when not spoiled the beef was uneatable because of its quality, being merely fat and tendons—fag ends of good beef. The members of the court admit that a great deal of it was bought by Eagan without inspection, and say that they have no knowledge of any provision in the army regulations or any requirement for such inspection. That lets out everybody who is in any way responsible for sending the foul and uneatable stuff to the soldiers, but leaves Gen. Miles still censurable for calling attention to the fact that it was sent.

The most thoroughly McKinleyish and Algerish portion of the report is its conclusion:

"It has been developed in the course of the inquiry, as recited in this report, that in some instances certain individuals failed to perform the full measure of duty or to observe the proprieties which dignify high military command, but the court is of the opinion that the mere statement in the official report of the facts developed meets the ends of discipline, and that the interests of the service will be best subserved if further proceedings be not taken."

That is to say: Let the matter drop now. Let Alger remain in the War Department, and let Eagan enjoy his six years' vacation on full pay. If anybody presumes to say anything more about it, denounce him as no better than a traitor and advise him to leave the country.

CUSTOM-HOUSE TYRANNY.

Mr. W. F. Wakeman is at the same time the Appraiser of the Port and the Secretary of the Protective Tariff League, a private organization whose sole cause of being is to get high rates of duty on imports enacted by Congress, and then higher rates than Congress has enacted imposed upon the goods so imported. The object in both cases is to enable domestic producers of similar goods to gouge the public by charging higher prices than they could otherwise get, making the machinery of government a species of enginery for private gain. The duty on embroideries of linen, cotton, or other vegetable fibres is 60 per cent. ad valorem, a rate sufficiently monstrous, one would think, to satisfy the cravings of the Protective Tariff League. But it seems not to satisfy them, since their Secretary, in his capacity of Appraiser of Merchandise for the Government, is trying in various ways to make the duties prohibitory—partly by raising the valuations of the imported goods, and partly by holding back the invoices and causing delay to the importers. Delay means loss of interest on the capital invested, and perhaps loss of the market besides. Our tariff laws and tariff administration are not merely relics of barbarism in this respect; they are a steadily advancing growth of barbarism, injustice, and tyranny, organized and systematized for the purpose of private greed. Wakeman is only one of the instruments of this scheme of rapacity, but the most brazen one. He holds a public position which requires him to act with impartiality in the administration of the tariff law, but he holds another position at the same time which prompts him to exercise his public functions in the interest of his private employers. It is a public scandal that he should hold the office of Appraiser at all, and he has made the scandal all the more glaring by his method of exercising his office.

Specific instances of oppression were published a few days ago, coming from Mr. W. Wickham Smith, the counsel of the importers who have been "held up" at the custom-house by Appraiser Wakeman, and subjected to loss by his arbitrary proceedings. It is charged that although the law requires that the ad-valorem duty on imported goods shall be assessed on the market value of the goods in the country of their production, and that the duties shall be uniform on all goods of the particular class, Wakeman insisted that he had the right

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to inquire into the value of the goods here, and to appraise the goods accordingly. At first the requests were complied with, but afterwards the importers decided to stand upon their rights, and refused to give this information. Thereupon Wakeman delayed action on the invoices for periods ranging from one month to a whole year. He also advanced the invoices of some houses, while others, embracing the same kind of goods, were not advanced at all. "Moreover," says Mr. Wickham Smith, "when he began advancing goods according to the American selling prices, he would advance the same goods to two or three different values, because he found two or three different selling prices in America." The advances, or additions, made by the Appraiser to the invoice values of Swiss embroideries ranged from 10 to 200 per cent. It is charged also that the Appraiser had claimed that he could not appraise the importations of a certain importer unless the latter would furnish him with American selling prices, while he was appraising other importers' goods of the same character without any such information, and that he continued to assume this attitude for a period of several months, until, the importer having flatly refused to furnish the selling prices, he returned the invoices.

These charges were referred to a commission of special agents of the Treasury for examination, who reported eventually that the invoices of embroideries should be advanced about 10 per cent. average under that clause of the law which provides that the custom-house valuation may be made upon either the invoice value or the foreign market value. It may happen at a particular time that the market value abroad is higher than the cost of production at which the invoice is made out in cases where the goods are consigned to this market for sale, or where they are manufactured by American houses having factories abroad. To cover such cases the American Consul at St. Gall had recommended that an advance of 15 per cent. be made on all invoices of staple embroideries, and the importers had themselves agreed to an advance of 5 to 8 per cent. The commission of special agents decided, in the cases brought before them, that an average of 10 per cent. would cover this discrepancy between invoice value and foreign market value. Wakeman had advanced the invoices from 10 to 200 per cent., and when the commission made an advance of 1 6-10 per cent. average, he claimed that he had won a victory, and had saved the Government a large sum of money.

A difference of 1 6-10 per cent. between the views of importers and those of the Government, as represented by the tribunal before whom this question finally came, is trivial, and it is not to be assumed that the Government was absolutely right. At all events, the margin of difference was within the limits of allowable error; and error on one side or the other must always be expected where duties are ad valorem. Where they are specific—that is, where they are so much per pound or per yard—there is no room for error, but where foreign value and foreign cost of production constitute the basis of the assessment, some error is almost certain to creep in, and it is quite as likely to be on the side of the Government as against it. Now these importers are American citizens. Their occupation supplies the Government to a large extent with the means of existence. If there were no imports, there would be no customs revenue. The public receipts would fall off nearly one-half. Yet the men whose trade supplies the Government more than $200,000,000 per year are hounded and hampered and slandered systematically, as in the case under review, which is only one out of many. A republican government treats its own citizens—men who furnish it with the means of existence from day to day—as public enemies. It has done so more or less for a quarter of a century past. Wakeman has been only one of a number of agents of this kind of persecution—the most brazen, however, seeing that he is an officer of the Protective Tariff League. How long such a scandal can continue we do not know, but we feel sure that it is a part of a formidable indictment that the Republican party will have to face next year.

PROF. BRIGGS AND OTHERS.

One of our "oldest readers," devoted man! asks us to say what we think about Prof. Briggs's views of the Bible and their bearing on the threatened controversy over his admission to priest's orders in the Episcopal Church. We might refuse to answer at all, in obedience to the apostolic injunction to "avoid foolish questions." For that, in a word, is what we do think of the whole affair. It is to us an instance not so much of the *odium theologicum* as of that far commoner thing, *stultitia theologica*. The folly of it is what strikes us most, and it may be that the best answer to our correspondent would be simply to send him the couplet:

> "Though men by knowledge wiser grow,
> Yet here 'tis wisdom not to know."

But if he will have us, after the manner described by the Psalmist, give him his request but send leanness into his soul, we say in the first place that it is a great mistake to speak of Prof. Briggs's teachings about the Bible as if they were anything peculiar or at all personal to himself. He is simply a Biblical scholar. Being the real thing, and not a bat blinking in a cavern, he naturally associates himself with the labors of other masters of Biblical learning, living and dead. Biblical studies are now as well and definitely organized as studies in the department of Greek history or Roman law. In the one field, as in the others, there is a recognized body of authorities, with whom you agree, not because they are dignitaries of the church (some of them are) or professors in universities, but because their methods are sound and scientific and their results the best that are to be had. We never ask whether a man is "orthodox" in his views of the political constitution of Athens, or of the origin of the *patria potestas;* we only ask if he is abreast of the latest researches touching those subjects. Precisely that is the test which we should apply to the Biblical scholar, *qua* Biblical scholar. Is he in general agreement with the masters of them that know in his specialty? If he is not, he may be as orthodox as you please, but he is either belated or eccentric to the point of making his opinions of no weight.

How this new wine of Biblical learning can be contained in the old skins of a seventeenth-century creed, elaborated and rigid, we frankly confess that we do not know. But it is not for us to decide. What we do know is that honorable and godly men are in all the churches who receive and defend the new natural history of the Bible, as we may call it. That is their affair. But, as Dr. Huntington wrote in his rebuke of the opponents of Prof. Briggs, the fact that such Biblical scholars—Canon Driver and Prof. Cheyne, in some respects more radical in their views than Prof. Briggs—are already in the church, and that they are not only tolerated, but honored, marks the monstrous absurdity of trying to keep out a like-minded man. Moreover, whatever the legal tests of the Episcopal Church may be—and we believe there is good authority for saying that its priests are obliged only to declare their belief that the books of the Bible are "canonical"—it is certain that, in practice, the largest liberty has been allowed. In fact, Episcopalians have long boasted of their freedom in these questions. They have quite a literature of tracts and pamphlets intended for distribution among clergymen of other denominations, all arguing the superior "roominess" and tolerance of the Episcopal Church in these very matters. Nor is there a particle of doubt that some of its most influential clergy have been drawn to it from other communions precisely because it did not lay theological burdens on the back as other churches do, or are thought to do. We have heard ex-Presbyterian and ex-Methodist and ex-Baptist clergymen dilate upon their new-found theological liberty as Episcopalians.

The facts being so, why all this pother about Prof. Briggs? Again our answer is, theological folly. Sudden zeal for purity of doctrine is one of its most

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

acute forms. The psychology of it has not been written, but it is closely allied to the psychology of the crowd. A mania for being more orthodox than the Pope gets going in a denomination, and soon all the clergy take to looking severe and pining for a heretic to burn. The very men whom you have heard, in some relaxed and unguarded moment, confess and even boast of their own theological irregularity and independence, will unblushingly lead the pack when one of these cries is started. We venture to say that not one of the clergymen who have come out in protest against Prof. Briggs could stand a literal cross-examination on all the Articles. The simple truth is that, except for purposes of heresy hunting, the great theological creeds are never revived as a living whole. They are not now vital in the consciousness of those who are supposed to be bound by them. Any longer to apply their minute and wire-drawn tests to a clergyman is always an anachronism, and sometimes a cruelty.

It is not a question of laxity. It is a question of letting scholars live within the church. Let the burden of subscription be thrown on them. If they can conscientiously find a way of subscribing to the creeds, either by taking them in "the historic sense," or by aid of some "declaration," in Heaven's name let them do it. They do not need to be told of the moral perils of their situation; they know them better than any other can. If they see their way to surmount these, and to do good work for Christian scholarship and to proclaim pure religion by lip and life, who will put obstacles in their path? All this questioning of motive and exacerbation of controversies about words remind us of Lessing's cry. "Lass mich, gütiger Gott," he wrote in his controversy with a raging orthodox divine, "let me never be so orthodox if it means being so presumptuous!"

MICROMANIACS AND MEGALOMANIACS.

FLORENCE, April 20, 1899.

A lecture by Francesco Crispi on Sicily and her Revolutions drew the largest audience of the year to the Luca Giordano hall in the Palace of the Prefecture yesterday, and the cordial welcome accorded to the old statesman by the élite of the Tuscan capital must have been a balsam to his heart wrung by many sorrows, to his spirit wounded by many real or imaginary wrongs. That the last four years have aged him as twenty previous ones had failed to do, is undeniable. In 1895 you would have said that he looked young for a man of seventy, so alert was his bearing, so powerful his voice, so luminous the flashes of his dark, magnificent eyes. But now the bowed form, the tremulous, hesitating voice, the dull sadness of the eyes, bring home to you the fact that he will be eighty next October, that he is the last left of the old guard who, for better, for worse, have made Italy one.

The first part of the lecture, devoted to the ancient history of Sicily, was dull for all but natives and lovers of the neglected isle. Its purport was to show how "this Sicily of ours, broken off by a violent convulsion of nature from the European Continent, and distant a few paces from Africa," was adapted, by its singular conformation, its sea-girt position and past history, to a "superb autonomy." He showed how the islanders defended that autonomy for seven centuries, safeguarding their independence even when their rulers were afar, nor ever, in the haughtiest days of papal Rome, yielding to the Pope's supremacy when it threatened their royal house. Sicily, he said, and quite truly, was monarchical always, monarchical to the marrow of its bones; our very priests, friars, and monks were royalists, and not Pope's men; they fought with us for our liberty and independence, and loyal they remained until 1871—"let future statesmen note that date." Only a Bourbon could have worn out Sicilian patience. Twice the speaker dwelt bitterly on the suppression of the newspapers, the arrest of publishers and printers; and after a graphic description of 1848-9, "during which years the islanders clung to their autonomy," narrating the atrocities committed by the Bourbon authorities, police, and soldiery, he said significantly, "But shootings, and hangings, and arbitrary arrests, imprisonment, and torture could not stifle, nay, as is always the case, they fanned, the flame of revolutionary propaganda." "So, to the surprise of the world and especially of her torturers, Sicily, who would not bow to a King that reigned over Naples, who in '49 had stipulated that her King should be King of Sicily alone, now talked of nothing but 'Italian life,' of fusion with the whole of Italy."

The history of the final struggle was well and briefly told; never once did the speaker claim for himself the merit of having been one of the chief actors in the daily, hourly struggle; the once so prominent Ego seemed to have vanished from his memory, though not from that of his audience, who remembered that as conspirator, rebel, revolutionary chief, leader of the Opposition, and three times pilot in stormy waters, the narrator had valiantly, if not always wisely, borne his part. Had he closed his speech with the downfall of the temporal power and the proclamation of Rome as capital of a United Italy, he would have carried his immense audience (which the large hall could not contain, and which had in part to be accommodated on the landing and the stairs leading to it) with him thoroughly, to the last; but then he would not have been Francesco Crispi, the believer in Dante's supreme Empire, in Gioberti's Primato, and, in a very different sense, in Mazzini's theory of Italy's world-wide mission. *That* Crispi revealed himself in the peroration, when the old heat returned, the bent frame rose up erect, some of the old fire flashed from his eyes, and his hand crashed on the table as he said:

"Alas, the Unity of Italy is undermined by the micromaniacs who aim at shutting Italy in her shell, at isolating her from the great nations, forbidding her to share the active initiatives on whose development her glorious destinies depend—menaced also by anarchists and clericals, subversive both, both renegade to the fatherland. Unity is useless if it fail to assure our force and grandeur. At times I ask myself with a shudder of despair whether it was worth while to have moulded seven states into one, if we decline to place this nation, created so laboriously, in the lofty place which morally and materially belongs to her. My calumniators, truly a numerous stalwart phalanx, call me megalomaniac, and their accusations reach my heart as sweetest praise. Only those who have wrought nothing for their country during the last sixty years of national life, who have suffered nothing for her, nothing sacrificed, can thus fling away the noble, holy ambitions which form the common patrimony of every Italian born. Watch, therefore; let all sincere patriots unite and toil to avert the dangers that threaten the unity of our country; let them warn the plebs against wily seductions and vile flatteries; let them set Italy on the path that leads to greatness, without which she has no *raison d'être*, without which she will cease to be."

As he sank exhausted in his chair, the audience gave him one warm, genuine round of applause. Many waited for him in the court, feeling possibly that this might be their last adieu to the man who, in deadly peril, had twice traversed Sicily to give the last touch to the organized revolution that was to secure a triumphal entry in the "city of the initiatives" for the *Duce* of the Thousand; to one of that Thousand who had held the island as the basis of operations for the passage to the Continent; to the republican who had sacrificed his preference because "monarchy could unite, a republic would divide, Italy"; to the statesman who, during his first ministry, had grasped the helm with firm and skilful hand, secured the peaceful election of the successor of Pio Nono, removed all difficulties from the path of Humbert the First (that number insisted on to show that Italy was not annexed to Piedmont, but that Piedmont was absorbed in United Italy). That genuine, heartfelt farewell was given also to the Crispi of the second ministry (1888-1891), who did carry out most of the reforms which were promised in the programme of the party of action in opposition, and who, but for a coalition of malignants, would have carried out all those beneficent measures which must yet be enacted before the moral unification of Italy can be completed. But in that courteous, cultured throng I doubt whether one-fifth felt sympathy with the megalomaniac ideals paraded before their eyes. That mirage faded at Abba Carima; since then the nation has sat down to count its dead, to bemoan the 400 millions squandered in Africa, which signify unsupportable taxation, its next to impossible reduction, squalor, discontent, rebellion at home, the emigration of the sturdiest, ablest, and most needed citizens from a country that denies them work or bread.

This last year of the century—tranquil so far if we except the incessant, unanimous agitation for amnesty, the triumphant elections of Turati, De Andreis, and other political prisoners, in colleges where no competitors dare present themselves—shows a quite other Italy from that of 1895, when home politics were non-existent, when, if we except the republicans and socialists, the entire nation lived in expectancy of news from Africa, not a few anticipating the hour when King Humbert should be, by a second Beaconsfield, created "Emperor of Abyssinia." Now a change indeed has come over the spirit of their dream; the public, the press, with rare exceptions, ask impatiently, "Why are we still spending twelve millions and probably more annually, for the barren title of a desert colony?" It is clear, says a clever writer in the *Nuova Antologia*, that since, for the last ten years, England, France, and Italy have vied with each other in furnishing a Menelek with arms and ammunition, we shall become his target; really, we ought to combine and rescind the permits granted for

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the transit of arms through our respective territories, and even then Russia will come to the rescue; so we had better leave Africa to the Africans and come out from among them. We took the chestnuts out of the fire for England at Kassala: why burn our fingers further? Naturally, the King and the Court are not of this opinion, and a few Jingoes clamor for *vendetta;* but the one hold which the present ministry has on the country, despite the military tribunals and their victims who fill the prisons still, and still populate the "enforced domiciles" by thousands, is the conviction that no new taxes will be imposed, that not a single unnecessary item of expenditure will be admitted to the budget, and that if a cent can be squeezed out of the treasury, it will be applied to the reduction of the tax on grain and of the abominable *octroi*, the tax on the necessaries of life at the gates of towns and cities.

We wonder what may have been the thoughts of Sydney Sonnino as he listened attentively to his old chief's harangue; of Sonnino, who, *nolens volens*, furnished the funds for the African folly, and who now, in his gloomy "Financial Notes," affirms, and I fear proves, that the budget of the present financial minister is that of an optimist. He foresees a deficit of seven millions in the present, and twenty millions in 1899-1900; this without calculating the burdens which the proposed agrarian and commercial credit loans, the redemption of morasses and hitherto uncultivated lands, subventions to railroads, etc., will entail on the future. Nothing finds favor in his sight. The pensions to veterans, the succor of poor families whose able-bodied sons are carried off by conscription, the increase of the wretched salaries of schoolmasters and professors in the technical schools, the equalization of the land-tax, which will reduce its proceeds by ten millions; the protection of home-produced sugar from beetroot, costing another ten by diminishing the custom-house duties on imported sugar—are all "errors"; the proposed abolition of some taxes on food, of some reduction of the tax on minimum incomes, are more than errors, "follies." He dwells on the *necessary* increase in the army and naval budgets, for the transformation of the antiquated artillery, for new naval constructions, and asks where is the money to come from, and classifies loans to provinces, aids to industry, old-age pensions, etc., as "so many holes dug to hide debts."

This excess of pessimism is not shared by the majority, who affirm that the income tax, even if all the minimum incomes be exempted, would produce double if properly assessed, as at present it is not; professional men not paying in just proportion, while holders of *rente* can transmit it free to their heirs, who pay no succession tax at all. Giolitti and his followers in the House promise their support to the Government on condition of a progressive income tax. *Se no, no!* The budget was presented in November, and it is not yet known whether that or the political measures for the restriction of the rights of the press, of association and public meetings will take precedence in the chambers, which reopen next week, Easter holidays having been prolonged, as several ministers and a large number of Deputies have accompanied their Majesties in their very popular tour through the neglected loyal patriotic island of Sardinia. The bright spot on the horizon is the renewal of the commercial treaty with France, which, expiring in 1893, had been denounced by Robilant, who knew that France would have done so with the intention of offering its renewal in exchange for the breaking off of the Triple Alliance, to which he was a devoted adherent. And in fact France did offer to Crispi a highly advantageous treaty and many commercial facilities if he would abandon all understanding with England anent Egypt and Morocco, and at least slow down the Triple Alliance. Crispi refused point blank; he never forgot or forgave the capture of Tunis, or the conduct of Republican France towards the Vatican. The rupture at once reduced the commerce between the two countries from 300 millions to less than half that sum, and the market for Sicilian grapes, wines, lemons, oil, etc., was suddenly closed. Now, after six years of patient negotiations, the French see that by cutting off Italy's nose they have spited their own face, and offer the "favored-nation tariff" for wine, etc. This is beneficial for the agriculturists, as the exports to Austria, Hungary, and Switzerland do not amount to the former exports to France. Poor Spain will be the loser, as she has served as a stopgap during the intervening years. The manufacturers grumble, but unreasonably, for they have never attained to the perfection of French production of articles of elegance and luxury, which have been obtained from England and Germany during the rupture, so the renewed treaty is a boon whose full benefits will be felt in the years to come more than immediately. On the whole, therefore, the outlook is not unhopeful, and before the megalomaniacs again get the upper hand of the micromaniacs many waters will have reached the ocean.

The question of the Bay of San Mun either is treated with indifference, or is deprecated. Competent writers demonstrate its uselessness from a commercial, political, and military point of view; the radicals ask, haven't you had enough of Abyssinia? "Not a man, nor a cent for foreign colonies, but as much as you can spare for the redemption of our bays and waste land," say the home reformers, and I see that all the papers report the advice said to have been given by the Duke of Connaught, who is very popular in Florence (full of foreigners to its heart's content this year). Said Duke is of opinion that only many years hence, and after the expenditure of many millions, can the bay be rendered of utility to foreigners, and that the Italians, if they take possession, would soon be assailed by the Chinese, and that thus discomfiture would redound to their discredit. Not a remarkable prophecy assuredly, nor can one see why the Minister for Foreign Affairs should so insist on the question. If Italy is to colonize, say the more moderate politicians, let her by all means assist her large Italian population in South America, protect their interests and rights, secure a real asylum for her surplus population, a solid market for her produce. A tame matter-of-fact state of mind, indeed; but such is the mental condition of Italy to-day, and, after all, is she not at last doing Garibaldi's behest, and trying to "cut her coat according to her cloth"?

J. W. M.

GERMANY AND THE ARMENIANS.

WEST BOURNEMOUTH, ENGLAND,
April 16, 1899.

The last item in "The Week" of the *Nation* for April 6, on the German Emperor and his influence on Turkish affairs, leads me (as I happen to have been in a position to know the true inwardness of the Armenian question as well as the present condition of things in the Balkans, which is the subject of comment in that article) to think that a plain statement of the facts may not be unworthy putting on record in your pages.

When Lord Salisbury determined, in accordance with the public opinion of England, to put an end to the malfeasance of the Sultan, he called on Austria-Hungary and Italy, under the terms of a convention established in 1887, shortly after Crispi became Prime Minister of Italy, to join England in a demonstration before Constantinople, with the alternative of deposing the Sultan or compelling effectual and immediate reform in the government of the Asiatic provinces. Crispi inquired at Berlin, the Emperor being at the head of the Triple Alliance, if Italy should take up the rôle to which she was called, and the reply of the Emperor was, "Yes, and on my imperial word of honor, I will support you to the last man." Crispi replied with alacrity by sending the fleet to Smyrna, and mobilizing a corps d'armée for operations in Asia Minor. Austria-Hungary, reluctant but compelled, made her preparations to support England and Italy, unwilling to run the risk of war for the sake of the Armenians, and a little irritated that Salisbury should have taken the initiative in a matter which concerned Austria-Hungary much more closely than England, as being at her doors and remote from those of England. Nevertheless, the accord was made, and if action had been taken instantly, there would have been no difficulty or danger of war, for the Dardanelles were not in a condition to resist the immediate entry of the fleets, not a gun being in position to fire. At this moment the United States Government brought forward the Venezuela question, and the Jingoes in the States put on their light gloves for a fight.

The position of Lord Salisbury was one of the greatest difficulty. To suppose that the English Government feared a war with the United States from purely military reasons is not to know the country and its resources, or our own as the Spanish-American war developed them; but a war between England and America could be carried on only by devastating our coasts, destroying our commerce, and preventing our farmers from exporting their grain, at the same time strengthening the defences of Canada. The bombardment and destruction of our coast cities and suppression of our trade were, in fact, the only measures which the military position permitted, and they would have been, therefore, imperative. But there is a large and influential element of the English people resolutely opposed to the aggravation of difficulties between their country and ours, not from fear of the results, but because they consider the establishment of permanently amicable relations between the two countries necessary to the advance of civilization, and a war between them comparable to murder in the family. Lord Salisbury had these (who form an important part of his support) to consider; and though the Jingo element in England would probably have met the defiance in the manner the whole nation would meet a similar attitude on the part of any European Power, the horror of an internecine war and the revivification of the antipathies of the generations gone

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by was heavier than the indignation at the childish and inconsistent provocations of the United States. The possibility, therefore, of a war with us, made probable by the fact that England might be in a moment engaged with one or more of the European Powers, compelled Lord Salisbury to settle our question before entering into any other. It was not the "baseness and heathenism" of the Emperor of Germany, but those of the President of the United States, which "dried up the fountain of European pity for the Armenians," and compelled England to desist from one of the most humanitarian efforts her foreign policy has ever proposed. I cannot, without a protest, permit this attempt to deprive our Jingoes of their greatest laurel to pass unnoticed.

Before Lord Salisbury had got the Venezuela difficulty arranged, the Dardanelles were in a state to offer effective resistance to the united fleets and make probable a loss in men and ships which would have been worse than the sufferings of the Armenians; and it must be remembered that the movement for the relief of Armenia was purely humanitarian, and would have given England no exclusive advantage or any profit to justify any loss of life or property. It was a project which did the highest honor to the hearts of Lord Salisbury and the English people, and the grief in England at its abortion was great.

But the position in which this failure placed the German Emperor was very difficult. His guarantee of immunity to the new Triple Alliance in their action at Constantinople put him practically in an attitude of hostility to Russia, which Power has the highest interest in neutralizing British influence at Constantinople. It was, in fact, forbidding Russia to support the Sultan by war, and paralyzed the Franco-Russian alliance for near Eastern matters, while allowing England to employ the entire military force of the Triple Alliance to carry out her plan. To reëstablish himself in the confidence of the Czar was no easy matter for the Kaiser, and it was necessary to remain practically neutral in the questions arising in the Balkan provinces and in Greece, and allow Russia to arrange them to her satisfaction as long as the vital interests of Austria-Hungary in Turkey were not assailed, these being guaranteed by the terms of the Triple Alliance. The result was that a convention was made between Russia and Austria-Hungary, binding both Powers to abstain from assisting either of the provinces or countries in the Balkans, including Greece, in case they attempted to provoke a war of emancipation with Turkey, and to maintain, while the convention is in force, the present status. The policy of Austria-Hungary is to prevent the breaking out of any war between Turkey and the Balkan States, but to encourage their development by degrees to effective political independence, not only of Russia, but of Austria, forming in this way a buffer chain of little states between the two great empires, and preventing for the future the acquisition by either of them of any more territory in the Balkans, including Constantinople. The Bulgarians are now assured, as the Greeks were when their agitation began, that they will not be supported in any aggression or assisted in any war for which they make themselves responsible, and no doubt Russia will adhere to this convention till she is ready to move on Constantinople; the hope of Austria-Hungary being that, before that moment arrives, the states which are now forming will understand their true policy, and be ready to defend the interests they have in common with the dual Empire against any aggression.

The defection of England from the understanding with Italy and Austria, supported as it was by Germany—*i. e.*, from the Triple Alliance—naturally provoked great irritation in the mind of the Emperor, who, one will readily conceive, held her to account for the scarcely veiled defeat which Germany suffered, and for the more positive failure to establish a concert of action between England and the Triple Alliance which would have paralyzed the Dual Alliance and made a war in Europe impossible. England would have been the President of the Quadruple Alliance, and, Germany commanding the position by land and England by sea, there would have been no resisting this pacific combination. When Greece broke out in 1897, she had been fully and officially informed that she could count on no European Power for any intervention in any case, but that she must take the consequences of her initiative; but the fatuity of Delyannis and the King in refusing to believe the assurances of diplomacy that they would be left to themselves to fight it out, and that the spread of the conflagration they counted on would be forcibly prevented, if necessary, forced the position and led to the disasters of the war. Germany was in neither the mood nor the situation to support the action or influence of England in the Greek question, owing to the retreat of Lord Salisbury, for which we must accept the responsibility, and not the "base and heathen" German Emperor. Our foolish stone on the English track has had the effect of throwing the entire European train off the line, with immeasurable loss to humanity.

The same conditions obtain for the Balkan principalities that held for Greece. It is impossible to permit a war to break out which will endanger the peace of Europe, for the parties are now so nearly equally divided that interference becomes most probable if fighting begins. It was possible to abstain in Greece, which is after a manner separated from the other states, but in Bulgaria it may be impossible, and a war could not be assured to benefit humanity unless England and Germany, *i. e.*, the Triple Alliance, cooperated, as they would have done but for us in the Armenian question.

W. J. Stillman.

AMERICANS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS.

Paris, April 20, 1899.

The *Nation* has already given information regarding the new Doctorate established last year by the University of Paris. Since that time, a further new provision has been made for recognizing the work done at the University by foreign students. As the number of Americans pursuing literary and scientific studies in Paris is increasing, and as the attention paid to the study of modern languages in America is equally on the increase, it may not be amiss to give anew some facts regarding the opportunities for advanced study offered by the University of Paris.

The name "University of Paris" includes six of the institutions especially charged with higher education—namely, the five "Faculties" (Protestant Theology, Law, Medicine, Science, Letters), and the École Supérieure de Pharmacie. Closely akin are a number of other institutions of learning which are attached to the Ministry of Public Instruction: the Collège de France, the Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle, the École des Hautes Études, the École des Beaux-Arts, the École des Chartes, the École du Louvre, the École des Langues Orientales, the École des Sciences Politiques, and certain others. All these, under various conditions, are open to foreigners, to whom degrees and certificates of various sorts are granted under the same conditions as to natives. Each, as a rule, has its separate special library, and, if need be, laboratory.

Without discussing the obvious necessity of a sojourn in France for the student or intending teacher of the French language, literature, or history, and without discussing the point, sometimes disputed, of the superiority of Paris over other French cities as a place for acquiring a practical command of modern French, the subject will here be limited to the nature and amount of actual academic instruction offered in some of these various faculties and schools. The auditor is likely to find himself pursuing courses in several of them at the same time, inasmuch as the same subjects, or portions of them, are treated not only in that faculty of the University to which they are assignable, but also in one or more of the special schools. For instance, a student interested in the history of the French language would find courses related to this subject in the Faculty of Letters, the Collège de France, the École des Hautes Études, and the École des Chartes. Of these, the first is the only place where he would pay a fee for the privilege of attending. Three of the four, in the present case, are in different parts of the same great building, the famous Sorbonne; the Collège de France is just across the street.

The requirements of admission vary from school to school. The École des Beaux-Arts, which comprises the most noted school of architecture in the world, is a case apart. Admission is by a severe competitive examination, and the number of foreign students is limited to a certain fraction of the whole. Each foreigner, moreover, must have obtained a certain rank in the competition; the foreign students are not allowed to form the lower end of the list. The Collège de France, which confines its activity to lectures, and grants no degrees, is at the other extreme, and opens its doors daily to whoso chooses to enter. The lectures are in many cases of the most advanced and technical nature, by no means always of the "popular" description. Here one may hear some of the most distinguished of French scholars treating of the subjects in which they have made themselves famous; such men as MM. Ribot, Levasseur, Maspéro, Deschanel, Gaston Paris, and others. Most of the other schools mentioned are entered by the simple formality of filling out a blank application with one's name, age, birthplace, and address. One or more courses may be taken at pleasure.

In the University proper, it is possible for the foreigner to be on any one of several different footings. To begin with, many lecture courses are open to the public without discrimination, like those in the Collège de France, with no formality of any kind. Secondly, teachers of foreign nationality may, upon application, obtain cards entitling them to free entry to all classes in modern languages and literatures, and in the science and art of teaching. Thirdly, on presenta-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion of a satisfactory diploma (which the candidate must not forget to bring with him), and payment of thirty francs for the year's tuition and library fee, the American may matriculate and become a properly constituted student, free to follow what courses he pleases in his faculty. Finally, if candidate for a degree, he must pay in addition a series of fees for registration, examination, and diploma, and must be diligent in signing attendance records. For these details and others, one should consult the official *Livret de l'Etudiant de Paris*, published by MM. Delalain Frères, 115 Boulevard Saint-Germain, and obtainable of any Paris bookseller. In this pamphlet should be sought also the subjects of courses for each year. It appears annually, a few days before the opening of the courses. The foreign student or intending student who needs still further explanation, may call on or correspond with the Comité de Patronage des Étudiants Étrangers (address, the Sorbonne), which offers him its services daily throughout the year.

The courses are, as a rule, of one hour a week each. As each professor gives only three, or at most four, he is amply able to bestow on them that perfection of form which French taste demands. Nothing could be more finished or elegant than the "form" of a French university lecture. In other courses class-room work is demanded of the student, in the way of demonstrations, essays, or translations. In the courses leading to the title of "Agrégé," the class is conducted, under the direction of the professor, by the different students in turn. The academic year begins in November and ends on the first of July, with interruptions of a week at Christmas and a fortnight at Easter.

The degrees and titles granted may be taken by foreigners as well as by natives, and by men and women without discrimination. The "baccalauréat," the "licence," and the "agrégation" are less likely to be sought by the American graduate students than the doctor's degree. The first, which is the lowest in rank, corresponds roughly to the first two years of the American B.A. course. The degree is granted only by the University, but the studies may be taken in the "collèges" instead, if the student prefer. The second requires at least four additional terms, and is required by the State of persons intending to teach in the secondary schools. As the "Licencié" is entitled to dispensation from the second and third years of military service, many men take this means of spending two years in the University instead of in the army. The practical result is that a great number of the youth of the well-to-do classes spend two more years in study than they might otherwise have done, with a beneficial effect upon the professions which they afterwards enter. The title of "Agrégé," the next in order, confers upon its holders the right to 1,500 francs additional salary as teachers, and irremovability from their office except on complaint accepted by a council of fellow-Agrégés. The degrees of Docteur ès Lettres and Docteur ès Sciences, required by the State as a qualification for University professorships, stand at the summit of the system. The requirements are extremely severe and the expense considerable. The candidate must write and publish two theses, one in French and one in Latin, which involves an expense of several thousand francs, and must undergo a searching public examination in which all the members of the faculty may take part. And the theses are not the thin pamphlets on narrowly limited topics which some of us associate with the word, but exhaustive works of several hundred pages, which often have taken years to write, and which often long remain as authorities—such works as Renan's 'Averroès,' Brunot's 'Malherbe,' Fustel de Coulanges's 'La Cité Antique,' Bédier's 'Les Fabliaux,' Beljame's 'Le Public et les Hommes de Lettres en Angleterre au XVIIIme Siècle,' etc., etc.

The new Doctorate (Doctorat de l'Université de Paris) requires at least two years of graduate study, part of which may be done away from Paris, elsewhere in France, or even in a different country. The accompanying fees have not yet been determined. The candidate must write and defend a thesis (French or Latin), and undergo an oral examination on questions chosen by himself and accepted by the Faculty. While it is expressly stated that this degree is not equivalent to the State Doctorate and does not confer the same privileges, it is to be assumed that the standard will be equally high, and that the absence of the Latin thesis and the accompanying expense will constitute the sole difference. Several foreign students in Paris have already set their eyes upon this degree, but so far no one has offered himself for the ordeal. The chance is open for an enterprising Yankee to become the first Doctor of the University of Paris.

The latest provision is one intended for foreigners planning to teach French in their own countries. These the University intends furnishing with a certificate of competence, after a satisfactory test. The certificate is to be called "Certificat d'Études Françaises." Candidates must present a diploma representing the bachelor's degree, but women may be accepted on presentation of a letter of introduction from the head of a college or school. The candidate must matriculate in the Faculté des Lettres (fee, 30 francs), and must attend three lectures a week for one year—one in French literature or philology, one in French history or geography, and the third according to his preferences. The examination will be written and oral. The former part will be based on the lectures, the latter will comprise the translation into French of a passage in the candidate's native language, and the summary in French of a passage from a French book read aloud to the candidate. At first sight the conditions do not seem formidable, but, to judge from the excellence of the English written and spoken by the students who take that study in the University, it may be expected that the pronunciation and syntax which will pass muster with the professors of modern languages in the Sorbonne will be good indeed. The University will be prepared to accept candidates for this certificate this autumn.

It may be added that foreign students planning to spend some time in Paris may obtain a good many useful hints, addresses, and other information from a little German pamphlet, 'Ein Studienaufenthalt in Paris,' by Ph. Rossmann, published by Elwert, Marburg.

For thirty years a steady stream of American students has been flowing to the German universities. These students have returned with knowledge and ideas which have exerted a continuous and generally beneficial effect on higher education in America. But there are other fields in which scholarship may find a harvest. If the example of patient industry, of unwearying thoroughness and attention to detail offered in Germany has been of lasting value, American scholarship may also find an inspiration in the keen analysis, the clearness, the brilliancy, and the originality of French studies.

W. S.

Correspondence.

IF NOT, WHY NOT?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the American Revolution we were unquestionably rebels in fighting Great Britain; and so were the Filipinos in fighting Spain in 1897 and 1898. France was at war with Great Britain at the time of our Revolution and aided us in our rebellion; we were at war with Spain in 1898 and aided the Filipinos in their rebellion. Now the Major calls the Filipinos "rebels" against our authority.

Suppose that in 1781, when Great Britain had practically lost her thirteen colonies, she and France had made peace and she had quitclaimed us to France for say £4,000,000. And suppose France had immediately turned against us what troops she then had on this side of the Atlantic, and had sent a large army over, giving us the choice between immediate unconditional submission and destruction; and suppose we, "misguided" like these wretched "niggers" of Luzon, had perversely preferred to rule ourselves, should we in such an event have been "rebels" against French authority? If not, why not?

I read a McKinley Syndicate organ (the Boston *Journal*) pretty regularly, but find nothing in it on this question—or, indeed, on any other political matter—beyond constant assurances of the good Major's Infallibility, and the sinfulness of questioning the same. I dare not sign my name, as the horrid fate which is impending over Edward Atkinson is a great terror here nowadays, and doubtless an exodus like the French emigration of 1787-1790 will soon begin in this vicinity.

A. MUGWUMP.

BOSTON, May 6, 1899.

SOUTHERN LYNCHINGS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have long been a subscriber to your paper and an attentive reader of its contents, as, though sometimes mistaken, and often unjust, it has the quality of perfect honesty and the "courage of its convictions." It is a fine teacher of morals, and I should like to see it a power in the land, acting as a counterbalance against those frothy and time-serving journals which minister to the taste of the unthinking multitude and, while perhaps despised, help to form public opinion.

Though I and many of my friends quietly accept the animadversions of the *Nation*, no matter how unjust, for the sake of its sterling character and many excellencies, there is a large portion of our community which must infallibly become alienated by the implacable dislike and injustice of its editorial remarks concerning them. I allude to the wholesale denunciation of the South in which the *Nation* never fails.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In regard to the horrible crime of lynching, the accounts of which make the reader ashamed of his countrymen, there is always on the part of the *Nation* an assumption that this crime belongs wholly to the South. This is by no means correct. There are more lynchings at the South than elsewhere, because there are more ignorant negroes there, and because the crimes which especially infuriate the mob are those more usual among uneducated negroes than among white people or cultivated black ones. When a negro is educated he is apt to seek city life; the more populous the city, the better suited to his tastes and favorite occupations, and as a rule the larger cities of the Northern States and their large watering-places receive the greater number of decently cultured or gently nurtured negroes. The vast numbers left in the midst of the rural population of the South are the most degraded of the race, and although many of these are peaceful and industrious, there are also many infinitely worse than beasts.

In the Northern and Western States, as the *Nation* may learn if it will take the trouble to inquire, negroes are lynched from time to time, and white men also. This does not make the crime less heinous, but it is one shared by the whole country. Booker T. Washington, in his admirable remarks recently in Baltimore, says education is alone the remedy—education of both black and white. This is true, but we need something in the meantime to put a stop to these horrors, lest, as the *Nation* suggests, what with unjust, unequal, and ferocious war abroad, and bloody crimes and vengeances at home, our young men become a bloodthirsty race, delighting in cruelty and despising the arts of peace; sons of the dragon's teeth now being sown. If the *Nation*, instead of confining itself to denunciations of the evil, would calmly study the subject, it might be able to suggest a remedy. The whole country should act. What is to be done? Cease these unjust accusations! Help us to do better.

A VIRGINIAN.

WASHINGTON, May 7, 1899.

[We will begin by counselling the South to remove from its statute-books every law which implies that black men are something less than human beings; to mete out justice to them in every relation, from the ballot-box to the gallows or even to the fire-stake—the same measure for white offences against blacks, for black offences against whites.

This may seem to our correspondent a counsel of perfection, and we will therefore forestall a request for something more concrete. There is at Atlanta a university for the blacks named after the city, founded by Northern philanthropy, and now wholly maintained by it. In line with the methods adopted by General Armstrong at Hampton and afterwards by Booker Washington at Tuskegee, it so commended itself that the Legislature voted it an annual subvention. In a perfectly natural manner the privileges of the institution were sought by whites and not denied; and because they were not denied, and the university would not pledge itself to be exclusive, the subvention was withdrawn from it, and it has ever since been in heavy straits. Now we affirm a logical connection between the late awful lynching in Georgia and this action of Georgia's Legislature; and the unconditional restoration of State aid to Atlanta University would, in our judgment, be both an act of expiation and a signal step towards that even-handed justice without which there will never be an end to the inherited cruelty of slavery.—ED. NATION.]

AT EASE IN METHODISM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your issue of May 4, you remark, in the course of a brief comment on the proper attitude of Episcopalians towards Prof. Briggs:

"We feel bound to say, also, that these nice points of doctrine are most unsuitable for discussion within the Episcopal fold. Its strength does not lie that way. The Presbyterians and Methodists can beat it hollow at that."

I suppose one who knew nothing of Methodist doctrine might be led by this last sentence to suppose that the attitude of Presbyterians and of Methodists toward the so-called "higher criticism" was essentially one, and that a Methodist clergyman who ventured to hold substantially the same views as are advocated by Prof. Briggs would be in imminent danger of being tried for heresy. I say nothing of the Presbyterian body, for it has been sufficiently in evidence for the past few years; but I venture to think that a somewhat wider acquaintance with the doctrines of the Methodist Church and the views held by many of its most representative clergymen would lead you to somewhat greater caution in the sweep of your implications.

The articles of religion as officially promulgated for the Methodist Church are exceedingly few and simple, and they afford very small basis for heresy-hunters to proceed upon. The actual facts are that in Methodist theological schools, in Methodist pulpits, in Methodist colleges, and in the ranks of the laity is a large and rapidly growing body of men for whom the "higher criticism" has no terrors. Some of these men are widely known, and their names are to be learned without special difficulty. I have no right to drag a list of names into this communication, but I know whereof I speak.

I am ready to admit that there are many conservative men in the Methodist Church, some of whom cannot be expected to reverse the conclusions of years of conviction; but these men are not so representative as to be ready to begin heresy trials for such of their brethren as have adopted the newer views. What is the date of the last trial for heresy that you recall among the thousands upon thousands of Methodist clergymen?

So far from accepting the implication of your remark, I venture to think that there is no Evangelical church that on the whole offers more freedom in matters of doctrinal belief than the Methodist. If there is one, which is it?—Yours very truly,

A METHODIST.

May 6, 1899.

THE ROMAN FOLK-SPEECH.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your notes on Dr. Olcott's dissertation in the *Nation* of April 13, 1899, convey a mistaken impression as to the status of scientific investigation into the popular vernacular of the Romans. The proposition with which your review opens, "that scholarly study of the every-day Latin of the ancient Romans . . . is only just beginning," becomes true only by the addition of the words *in America*, where, indeed, so far as published results are concerned, your reviewer is fairly correct in suggesting that it is confined to Columbia University and to the latter half of the present decade.

In Europe, however, ever since the appearance of Diez's scientific Grammar of the Romanic Languages, first in 1836-42, the scientific study of the Roman folk-speech has been rife, and so rich has been the yield for the seven years 1891-1897, to take a mere sample, that Dr. P. Geyer uses eighty-four pages of Bursian's *Jahresbericht*, vol. 98, pp. 33-117, to make his shorthand report of that interim. Even as early as 'Poggii Florentini historia convivalis,' 1538, p. 32f.; Morhof 'De Patavinitate Livii,' 1685; Pagendarm (*alias* Tiefensee), 'De Lingua Romana rustica,' 1735, we mark the rise of scholarly interest in the fascinating subject—an interest, however, which, owing to the strong fetters of Ciceronianism, produced no sound or substantial fruit. But, for the nineteenth century, what shall we say of the august array of names—Raynouard, 'Grammaire comparée,' etc., 1821; Diefenbach, 'Ueber die jetzigen Roman. Spr.,' etc., 1831; Winckelmann, 'Ueber die Umgangssprache der Römer' (in Jahn's *Neues Jahrbuch*, 1833, pp. 493-509); Diez, 'Grammatik der Romanischen Sprachen,' 1836; Fuchs, 'Die Roman. Spr. in ihrem Verhält. zum Lat.,' 1849; Pott, in Höfer's *Zeitschr. für die Wissenschaft der Spr.*, 1851, iii., pp. 113-165; Kuhn's *Zeitschrift für Vergl. Spr.*, 1852, I. 309-350, and 385-412; *Zeitschrift für Alterthumsw.*, 1853, II. 481-499, and 1854, 12. 219-231, and 233-238; Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, 1863, 12. 161-206, and 1864, 13. 24ff., 81ff., 321ff.; Corssen, 'Ueber Ausspr., Vokal. und Bet.,' 1858; Schuchardt, 'Vokal. des Vulgärlatein,' 1866-69; and, after this epoch-making and monumental work, to mention only the more conspicuous contributors to the subject, Rönsch, Wölfflin, Rebling, Sittl, Gröber, Meyer-Lübke, and Lindsay of Oxford?

It should be noted, too, that the idea expressed by your reviewer, "We are glad to observe that Dr. Olcott uses the term *sermo vulgaris* in its proper sense, therein differing from most of his fellow-investigators," etc., would have been appropriate enough when Schuchardt wrote in 1866, Vokal., I. 45; but in 1899 is a rather belated sentiment. Surely, no serious scholar in the last quarter of a century has failed to discriminate between the *sermo cotidianus* of the Roman masses and "mere slang, or low, indecent language, or that which is 'vulgar' in the modern society sense of the word."

Very truly yours,

THOMAS FITZ-HUGH.

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS,
AUSTIN, April 28, 1899.

P. S.—In reply to your query, "Which of our universities will be first to establish a real University Press of its own, to print and publish the productions of its faculties and students?" attention should be called to the University of Chicago Press, which I have known to do such work for American universities at large.

[We welcome Professor Fitz-Hugh's

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

remarks if he and others were led to think that we meant to suggest that Columbia University or American scholarship had been first in this field of investigation. Such an idea was far from our meaning. Indeed, with the exception of the writers before the present century (who, we think, gave evidence of "scholarly interest" rather than of scientific investigation), almost the whole of Prof. Fitz-Hugh's useful list of contributors is included in Dr. Olcott's bibliography or in his notes. Another reading of Geyer's introductory remarks in his *Jahresbericht* ought perhaps to show Professor Fitz-Hugh that our remarks on the real nature of the term *sermo vulgaris* were not wholly unnecessary. Geyer's review, by the way, is not devoted solely to the vulgar, but covers the late Latin as well; in fact, for the whole seven years, he quotes but a small number of works devoted entirely to the former subject. As for university presses, if Chicago has really established one of its own, we rejoice to hear it. A volume of its "Studies in Classical Philology," lying before us, does indeed bear on its title-page the words, "The University of Chicago Press"; but the next page shows that the book was printed by a well-known firm in Massachusetts. —Ed. Nation.]

Notes.

The Postmaster-General should take notice of Benjamin H. Sanborn & Co.'s intention to publish immediately in Boston a new edition of Burke's Speech on Conciliation with America, so often quoted by the authors of the "incendiary literature" of the present hour. This looks like an act of defiance. The fact that the speech is edited by a woman will surely not be allowed to prevent its exclusion from the mails if it cannot be arrested in the press.

The ninth volume of Harvard Studies in Classical Philology (Ginn & Co.) will embrace memoirs and posthumous papers of Prof. George M. Lane and Prof. F. D. Allen, a paper on "Hidden Verses in Livy," by Prof. Morris H. Morgan, and other interesting matter, with the usual indexes.

Macmillan Co. publish directly. 'Wordsworth and the Coleridges, with Other Memories Literary and Political,' by Ellis Yarnall; 'Side Lights on American History,' by Henry W. Elson; and 'Tristram Lacy, or the Individualist,' a new novel by W. H. Mallock.

We were guilty of two lapses last week, in misnaming the American house associated with J. M. Dent of London in publishing the delectable Temple Edition of Scott's Novels, to wit, Messrs. Scribner; and in omitting to mention that the abridged Life of Sir Richard Burton bears the same American imprint.

Shortly after the death of Alfred M. Williams of Providence, R. I., his friends were favored with a memorial volume. It contained an admirable biographical sketch by Mr. Howland, some of Mr. Williams's last writings from the West Indies, some verse, a portrait, and a few illustrations. This has now been given to the reading public (through Preston & Rounds Co.) with the general title, 'Under the Trade Winds.' The charms of West Indian scenery, and the sad strangeness of the social relations there prevailing, are vividly portrayed, and those not previously acquainted with Mr. Williams's powers of description have now an opportunity of realizing them. The portrait shows the man of later years worn down by mental toil and the loss of a beloved wife. After having, in the civil war, participated unscathed in more than one forlorn hope, he met his death through a fall from mule-back on a mountain trail, in search of folk-lore.

'How Count L. N. Tolstoy Lives and Works,' by P. A. Sergyeenko, translated from the Russian by Isabel F. Hapgood (T. Y. Crowell & Co.), is one of the most characteristic and interesting works ever written on Tolstoy. The man is set before us in a most realistic presentment; his thoughts, his habits, even his diet, are minutely described. Miss Hapgood deserves well of the great non-Russian-reading public for putting this portrait within their reach. We only wish that she had given a few footnotes. Many of the personal proper names are familiar enough to Russian students, but what do they mean to outsiders? Surely a note ought to have been given (p. 44) to the name of Count Araktcheeff (not Aratchkeeff), a man cordially detested in Russia as one of the *manœuvres*, to use a convenient French term, of the Emperor Paul. When we know his story, we see the point of the anecdote told about him.

The Hatzfeld 'Dictionnaire Général de la Langue Française' (Paris: Ch. Delagrave) completes five-sixths of its total bulk in *fascicule* xxv., ending with *ruilée* on page 1984. In this instalment of an authoritative work, severely condensed, there is not much to remark beyond a few words borrowed from the English, like *rob* (*robre*), a rubber at whist, and *rôt-de-bif*, roast-beef; or characteristic French compounds like *remue-ménage*, *risque-tout*; or proverbial personages like *Roger-Bontemps*.

The *Green Bag* for April (Boston Book Co.) has a paper, by Bushrod C. Washington, on the trial of John Brown, written in no forgiving temper, and adding nothing of moment to what was already known of the raid or the trial. Those who wish to extra-illustrate Sanborn's Life of Brown, however, will thank the writer for a view of the court-house, with portraits of the judge (Richard Parker), the prosecuting attorney (Andrew Hunter), the Virginia counsel (Judge Green and Col. Botts) originally assigned for Brown's defence, and finally the Sheriff who executed sentence (James Campbell).

The redwood forests of the Pacific Coast are described by Mr. Henry Gannett, in the May number of the *National Geographic Magazine* (Washington), as occupying a narrow strip hugging the coast from the southern boundary of Oregon through northern California, with an area of 2,000 square miles, in which the standing timber is estimated at seventy-five thousand million feet. As measured by the amount of merchantable timber per acre, this is probably the densest forest on earth. In the Southern States and in Minnesota, tracts containing from 5,000 to 10,000 feet per acre are regarded as heavily forested; but around Eureka, Cal., the lumber companies have realized "an average of between 75,000 and 100,000 feet per acre. . . . There is on record a single acre, near Garberville, which yielded in the mill 1,431,530 feet in lumber. There was sufficient lumber on this acre to have covered it with a solid block of frame dwellings ten stories high." The reverse side of the picture is the fact that there is no young growth nor sign of reproduction from seed. This indicates that, with the clearing away of the present forests, though the supply at the present rate of cutting will last three hundred years, the redwood "as a source of lumber" will cease to exist. The progressive drying of the climate is suggested as the cause of the failure of the reproductive power, and this testimony of the forest is used by Mr. J. B. Leiberg, in a following article, to answer affirmatively the important question, "Is climatic aridity impending on the Pacific slope?"

The *Geographical Journal* for April opens with an account, by Prof. N. Collie, of two explorations in 1897 and 1898 of an almost unknown part of the Rocky Mountains lying about eighty miles north of the Canadian Pacific Railroad. A special object was the search for Mounts Hooker and Brown, discovered some sixty years ago and believed to be the highest peaks in the range. The Century Atlas, for instance, gives Mount Hooker a height of 15,700 feet. When found, however, they proved to be only 9,000 feet, "not so high as thousands of others in the main chain." An interesting climb was that of "probably the only peak in North America the snows of which, when melted, find their way into the Pacific, the Arctic, and the Atlantic Oceans; for its glaciers feed the Columbia, the Athabasca, and the Saskatchewan Rivers." Dr. H. Schlichter endeavors to show, by an examination of the extensive ruins in Rhodesia, South Africa, that these territories were, "1,000 years before the commencement of the Christian era, a gold-producing country of a large extent, and colonized by the early Semitic races round the Red Sea, viz., by Jews, Phœnicians, and Western Arabians." The proofs are mainly the character of the buildings, their astronomical ornamentation, and a supposed Semitic inscription which has been found. In the discussion which follows, Mr. F. C. Selous maintains that the natives built stone walls as late as the beginning of this century, and extracted gold from quartz up to 1870. Baron Nordenskjöld contributes a paper, with facsimiles, on "the influence of the 'Travels of Marco Polo' on Jacopo Gastaldi's maps of Asia," and Lord Curzon a note on the source of the Oxus.

The Year-book of the Royal Geographical Society contains, among other things, an interesting list of more than 400 of the 4,009 fellows composing the Society, "who may be regarded as special authorities on particular subjects," together with supplementary lists of subjects and countries, with their "referees." The illustrious roll of medallists closes with the name of Lieut. E. A. Peary, U. S. N., who received the Patron's Medal in 1898.

Petermann's Mitteilungen, number 3, begins with the first part of an account, by A. Gaedertz, of a recent journey made by him in the Chinese province of Shantung, in the interests of a German syndicate formed for mining and railway-building in the new German sphere of influence. It is accompanied by an admirable map. New light is thrown by Dr. R. Gradmann on the obscure problem of the curious course of the frontier of the Roman Empire in southwestern Germany. He shows, with much historical and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

archæological detail and with the aid of a map, that for nearly the whole distance of a hundred and thirty miles from the south-westernmost point to the Danube the boundary runs exactly parallel to the southern limit of the Frankish pine forests. Some interesting statistics illustrating the growth of the Siberian province of Tomsk in the last thirty years are given. Manufacturing establishments, for instance, have increased from 223 to 7,570, employing 12,914 workmen, while there are 68 yearly markets against 11 in 1857. The colleges and schools number 711, with 26,409 scholars, out of a population of about two millions, mostly Slavs.

Mr. John Thomson's second Bulletin of the Free Library of Philadelphia is a Descriptive Catalogue of the works composing John Russell Smith's "Library of Old Authors," begun in London in 1856. Thus, in addition to analytic and bibliographical notes, it gives, under John Aubrey, an alphabetic list of his Miscellanies; under W. Carew Hazlitt a similar list of the pieces in 'Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England.' An index completes the assistance afforded by the catalogue. The next Bulletin, it is announced, will consist of an index of first lines and of subjects of Herrick's Poems.

The public reading and expounding of Dante instituted in Florence in 1373, with Boccaccio (then near his end) as the first to perform this function, lasted with numerous vicissitudes till 1859, when Giambattista Giuliani had the final word. After forty years of silence, the Florentine executive committee of the Italian Dante Society restored the good old custom on April 27 in the great hall of Or San Michele. Not one scholar, but a group of seven, explained, not the first seventeen (as Boccaccio), but the first seven cantos of the "Inferno." The Mayor of the city presided, and the occasion was "solemn" in the Latin sense. The session was made the more enjoyable by Salvini's reading of the first canto.

A melancholy interest attaches to the late Prof. Edward D. Cope's paper on "Vertebrate Remains from Port Kennedy Bone Deposit" in the current number of the *Journal* of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, as it is the last of the brilliant series of contributions to science by that celebrated palæontologist, and was prepared during his final illness. It treats of the extraordinary accumulation of organic forms of Pleistocene age found in the so-called "bone-hole" exposed in quarrying the Cambrian limestone at Port Kennedy, Upper Merion Township, Montgomery Co., Pa. In a paper entitled "The Bone Cave at Port Kennedy and its Partial Excavation in 1894, 1895, and 1896," Mr. Henry C. Mercer gives additional information concerning this fossil deposit, and describes phenomena indicating that one or two great inundations occurred in the Schuylkill Valley in Pleistocene times. The deposit is of great variety and unknown extent, but thus far no traces of human remains have been discovered. In the same number Mr. Clarence B. Moore continues the account of his explorations among the aboriginal mounds of the South. He describes two classes of mounds—those used for places of abode or refuge, and the low mounds used for burial purposes. Certain rises in the ground known as "mounds" by the inhabitants proved to be banks thrown up by the action of the Savannah River, notably so in the cases of Little Patten and Big Patten, which are given as mounds even on the Government chart. Mr. Moore concludes that the swamps of the Savannah were not largely inhabited in prehistoric times, and, on the whole, South Carolina appears to have little of archæological interest to offer. Half-tones and a colored plate illustrate Mr. Moore's memoir.

—Mr. Julius F. Sachse has printed in a very handsome form his recent paper on Franklin's account with the Lodge of Masons, 1731-1737. The discovery of Franklin's daily ledger among the Philosophical Society's collections enables Mr. Sachse to tell a very interesting story, and to prove that Philadelphia was the mother city of Freemasonry in America. Until Massachusetts is again heard from, the claim will hold, and, based as it is upon unquestionable evidence, the question may be regarded as settled. A number of photographic reproductions are given in this essay, among them being the pencil sketch of Franklin made by Benjamin West. Mr. Sachse believes that the "Mystery of Freemasonry," published in the *Gazette* of December 3, 1730, was the work of Franklin, who was at that time not a Mason. In 1731 he was admitted, and made some amends. Mention is made of Louis Timothee, who had aided Franklin in 1732 to print the Philadelphia *Zeitung*, the first German newspaper in America. Timothee afterwards removed to Charleston, to take charge of a printing-office equipped with a printer's outfit by Franklin. Was this Timothee the father of Peter Timothy, who did the printing for the patriots in the Revolution? Mr. Sachse has given us a very valuable fragment of history and personal information, made all the more so by his conscientious reproduction of his original material.

—Mr. Edward Sherman Wallace has used his five years' experience as United States Consul for Palestine to write a brief history of ancient Jerusalem, and an account of the modern city and its conditions, political, religious, and social, under the title, 'Jerusalem the Holy' (Fleming H. Revell Co.). The chapters which deal with the present conditions of Jerusalem and the character of its population, drawn, as they are, from Mr. Wallace's experience and personal observation, are decidedly interesting. That portion of the book which deals with the ancient history of the city is of little value. The author's aim has been "to combine completeness with brevity, and thus to place in the hands of those who are interested in this city of ancient memories and holy sites, a book of such facts as are ascertainable." His aim has not been attained, apparently because his critical knowledge was not adequate; but with reference to the conditions of life in Jerusalem to-day, the visitor to the city will find the book an interesting and, in general, trustworthy guide. Neither the Jews, Christians, nor Moslems who now inhabit the Holy City are attractive representatives of their respective races or religions. The first mentioned, in particular, are pauperized by the contributions from without, on which many of them live in whole or in part. Christian missions, as conducted in Jerusalem, also come in for severe criticism; not that the missionaries individually are at fault, but that so many missionaries and so much money are expended in this one place, in vain and demoralizing rivalry. The holiness of Jerusalem the Holy is a thing of yesterday and to-morrow, not of to-day. Mr. Wallace looks forward to the reoccupation of Palestine by the Jews, his expectation being based mainly on a very literal interpretation of the prophecies of the Old Testament. It is as charming as meeting a real live dodo to read that it is generally conceded "that, in the millennial age, living waters shall go out from Jerusalem, half of them toward the former sea and half of them toward the hinder sea." As a matter of fact the Jews are coming in rapidly, and to-day, in the Holy City itself, outnumber all the other elements of population put together. The Turkish Government places obstacles in the way of this immigration, but a little money overcomes many obstacles. The book is carelessly written, with much repetition and unnecessary verbiage. "Fifteen illustrations from photographs" pleasantly illumine the text.

—The article of greatest general interest in the April Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund is on woman in the East, by P. J. Baldensperger. The author was born in Jerusalem and brought up in the country, and as a child was often taken by his mother into their neighbors' women's quarters. His knowledge, therefore, of their secluded life is exceptional. He describes at this time women in the towns, known as Madanié in distinction from the Fellahin or country people, their appearance at home, conversation, amusements, marriage customs, religious observances, superstitions, and care of the sick. His conclusion is that "woman in the harem is, relatively speaking, perhaps happier than the Occidental lady can imagine her to be." Dr. Conrad Schick contributes a catalogue of the "preparations made by the Turkish authorities for the visit of the German Emperor and Empress to the Holy Land in the autumn of 1898." This veneering extended to the building of a pier at Haifa, making roads passable, piercing a broad entrance to Jerusalem close to the Jaffa Gate, clearing the streets of booths and whitewashing houses, to say nothing of decorations and architectural restorations, more or less fantastic and barbarous. "The many beggars were gathered, before the arrival of their Majesties, and sent by escorts to villages some distance from Jerusalem; and it seems that even the dogs, which at night make so much noise, were diminished"—"catched and housed in cages," as another account runs. Constantinople was similarly sophisticated *pro tem.*, as regards the edileship and the dogs. We may be sure that the German Emperor was not deceived, but one recalls the transformations effected in the Russian "military colonies" in advance of the first Alexander's inspection, to secure a smart and prosperous appearance; horses, cattle, and poultry being concentrated from roundabout, good cheer provided for "specimen" peasants' tables, and hollow wheat-ricks stuffed out with straw and rubbish to simulate abundance. In Catharine's visit to the Crimea, too, her route was thronged with an imported population.

—To M. René Doumic has been accorded the attention of translation by an American hand, as a return for his edifying lecture-tour of last year. A volume of studies on 'Contemporary French Novelists' has been done into English by Mary D. Frost, and published by T. Y. Crowell & Co. It contains critical essays on the leaders of the several schools in modern French fiction, from Feuillet to Rosny, Hervieu, and Bazin, with the very noticeable omission of Anatole France. This

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

selection seems to have been made with some idea of forcing into notice M. Doumic's well-known literary predilections (not to say prejudices), for it places side by side the virulent "slating" of Zola and the glorification of Daudet. As with M. Brunetière, novelists of anti-clerical, realistic, or non-mystical tendencies find here but very short shrift; unless, indeed, as in Maupassant's case, they gallantly leave all formulation of opinions and conclusions to critics more or less authorized. The article on Daudet contains a stereotyped defence of the French Academy, the spirit of which is sufficiently indicated in the assumption that the novelist "would have been greatly at a loss himself to give a motive or pretext for his attitude" in 'L'Immortel.' We must, therefore, correct our impression that precision of introspective power was one of the positive qualities of the author of 'Le Petit-Chose.' The translator's work succeeds in preserving the prevailingly gray tones of the original; but sticklers for accuracy, even where slang is at stake, may question the exact equivalent of "cad" and *mufle* (p. 360).

—The memoirs of Jan Kilinski are very much valued by the Poles on account of the simplicity and vigor of his style and the interesting period of history about which he wrote. He was a shoemaker of Warsaw. After the diet at Grodno in 1793, when Poland was dismembered and the King Stanislas had become a mere tool in the hands of a mercenary aristocracy, a Committee of Patriotic Citizens was formed at Warsaw, of which Kilinski was one; but the ruin of Poland was accomplished, and Kilinski was carried prisoner to St. Petersburg. He was released when Paul came to the Russian throne, in one of that monarch's periodical fits of generosity, as capricious as his severities. There has recently been found in a private library a continuation of these memoirs of which little was known. It has been carefully edited by a learned historian who prefers to remain incognito under the simple initial A. This new volume, published at Cracow, is of surpassing interest. The National Committee made short work of the traitors—bishops, hetmans, and magnates—who had signed away the independence of their country. Their trials before the National Court and speedy execution by hanging are narrated by an eye-witness. One of the most appalling stories is that of Prince Michael, the brother of the King, who was the Primate of the country. He actually entered into treasonable correspondence with the general in command of the Prussian troops then besieging the city, and pointed out a vulnerable part in the defences. This letter he intrusted to a servant whose manner, as in the case of André, made him suspected while crossing the lines. On his being arrested, the plan which the primate wished to communicate was found on him. The King sent his brother a powerful poison in a lozenge, which he told him he must take. The miserable ecclesiastic obeyed, and in half an hour was no more. The only alternative was being publicly hanged as a traitor. The story, with many others, is naïvely and graphically told. Kilinski, on being released from captivity, returned to Warsaw and carried on his trade till his death in 1819. The editor of this book gives a picture of his house.

—Mr. Louis Dyer's second Machiavelli Lecture at the Royal Institution in London dealt with his author's use of history, and opened with Mr. Lowell's definition of a university, 'a place where nothing useful is taught.' The ancient Romans were to Machiavelli, as to Dante in the second book of his 'De Monarchia,' a providential people predestined to universal sway. Machiavelli parted company with Dante when Cæsar's usurpation came. For this the author of 'The Prince' had words of strenuous condemnation. Guicciardini, while occupying in general Machiavelli's point of view in regard to the perfections of Rome, warmly controverted his vigorous plea for the political preponderance in a well-organized state of a free and law-abiding people. Both Machiavelli and Guicciardini made of the Roman Republic something very like the Florentine polity of their own day. The former's view was colored by his leanings toward the people, while the latter had the same instinctive predilection for the nobles, his own order. Be what you are not, Machiavelli substantially said; and do what you cannot, and you shall be as the Romans were—free. Do what you cannot and be what you are, and you shall come under the sway of the Prince. Modern history Machiavelli treated with a free hand, but was always on his good behavior with the ancients. His highly embroidered version of the abortive insurrection at Prato (1470), and his propagation of the foul slander against Catherine Sforza in connection with events after her first husband's murder, give us an example of our author's deviation into Yellow Journalism—what Guicciardini censures as his predilection for extraordinary events. Machiavelli's reverence for antiquity was out of all proportion to his knowledge, but, judged by his best work, he was certainly more interested in understanding history than in using it for any purposes of his own.

SOME LATE NOVELS.

Colette. By Jeanne Schultz. T. Y. Crowell & Co.

The Man Who Worked for Collister. By Mary Tracy Earle. Boston: Copeland & Day.

Aylwin. By Theodore Watts-Dunton. Dodd, Mead & Co.

An Angel in a Web. By Julian Ralph. Harper & Bros.

Poor Human Nature. By Elizabeth Godfrey. Henry Holt & Co.

Niobe. By Jonas Lie. Translated from the Norwegian by H. L. Brækstad. Geo. H. Richmond & Son.

Old Chester Tales. By Margaret Deland. Harper & Bros.

Latitude 19°. By Mrs. Schuyler Crowninshield. D. Appleton & Co.

The Battle of the Strong. By Gilbert Parker. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

A Hungarian Nabob. By Dr. Maurus Jokai. Translated by R. Nisbet Bain. Doubleday & McClure Co.

The Wire Cutters. By M. E. M. Davis. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

God's Prisoner. By John Oxenham. Henry Holt & Co.

A Writer of Books. By George Paston. Appletons.

"I always did like that sermon," said the enthusiastic parishioner. The public always has liked Colette, the mischievous maiden who threw the image of her patron saint out of the window and brought down a mortal husband. If one may use the word "reappearance" of that which has never disappeared, she has reappeared. Her new red-and-gold raiment, her illustrations, her fresh translation, more literal than the original one, are the badges of her enrolment in the "Faience Series," where she will doubtless win new admirers and secure rereading from old ones.

It might be thought that there was nothing left to say in Creole or Southern speech of Creole life on the bayous, or life in the South among the negroes and the "mountain people." Yet of Miss Earle's fifteen stories there is not one which has not a decidedly original cast, scarcely one which does not contain some wholly unexpected turn or dénouement. Several are merely vehicles for a racy bit of dialect or a life-like portrait. Others are sketches of incident, episode, or character, made with marked local color, and often with an artist's touch. They are straightforwardly told, in a clear-cut style, inviting to such readers as have risen unrefreshed from superfluities and preachments. In a sincere desire to learn, we inquire, Are the "you-all" and "you-uns" of the South applied to a single person, as we constantly find Miss Earle using them?

'Aylwin' stands the supreme test of the novel, the cathedral and the mountain. Its full dimensions do not overtake the vision till one is leaving it behind and can survey it as it recedes—its lights and shades, its plan, its scope, its unity, its relationships, and its loftiness. The beginning of 'Aylwin' is unusual, but gives promise of rarity hardly more than of mere queerness. The Cymric child enters, bringing the apprehensiveness of a novel of precocity; Welsh songs hint that a bilingual style may block the way; a drunken organist is unprepossessing; and when we reach the Moonlight Cross of the Gnostics, desire fails, for expectation is threatened with a novel of mysticism, learned but dull. But, from this point, the main elements of the story having ranged themselves in the laboratory, there is built up, or rather there grows up, as nobly beautiful a novel as the past year has produced. The mysticism, pervading but not intruding, plays a definitely appointed part in an ingeniously devised plot; the fantastic stands forth as the natural against a background of Welsh mountains peopled with Welsh gypsies; the air of Snowdon, rarefied though it is with visions and superstitions, breathes over no fabled land, but one made very real and living with its crags and waterfalls and its wandering Romany children. Briefly, themes which might have become over-subtle on the one hand and sordid on the other, have been treated simply, sincerely, and with elevation. Gypsy horse-trading, fortune-telling and begging, and the squalor of London slums do not avail to vulgarize the book; nor the supernatural in creed, the preternatural in faith and constancy, to make it absurd. Rather have we found it, although somewhat stiff reading in spots, a book to adopt, especially in its almost affectionate portrayal of the ways of Romany folk, who "alone understand Nature's supreme charm and enjoy her largesse."

Welsh Winifred, the lost love whom Aylwin pursues throughout the story, is a fascinating creation, but Sinfi, the gypsy who helps to find her, is to her as Rebecca to Rowena, or Brünnhilde to Sieglinde, a superbly glowing figure, fierce and tender, rugged and soft, warrior and maiden. Studio life in London as we have it here at "the culmination of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the neo-Romantic movement in Art," is but another phase of the spiritual and transcendental. Portraits or not portraits, sane or demented, they are interesting persons who paint in those studios and unfold their views on art and zoölogy, on this world and the next. "The Children of the Roof" and "The Children of the Air" have share and share alike in the book; but, for them all, the moral is the same—that to him who loves, materialism is impossible.

The very material spiritualism of Mr. Ralph's story offers a curious contrast to Mr. Watts-Dunton's imaginative isms. Colonel Lamont's dead-and-gone relatives—"Ethereals" they are called—meet about his deathbed to discuss and influence his last will and testament with a zeal which, if convincing, would be discouraging to the old woman who sighed for "sweet nothing for ever." They all follow the lines they had taken on earth as eagerly for their living descendants as they had once done for themselves; any virtues they may possess are obviously not the result of clarification in heaven. They succeed in delivering the Angel out of her web of dangers and into her inheritance, leading her through the low-ways and side-ways of three kidnappings, a fire-escape rescue, and a chafing-dish supper in a slangy but moral Bohemia. The expected marriage with the rescuing hero had not occurred on the last page, so that it may fairly be called an unlove story; but its premature cutting-off brings its own healing.

Although the title-page of 'Poor Human Nature' bears the added legend, "A Musical Novel," the reader need not be frightened by the prospect of technicalities. There is not much music in the story, though a deal about opera-singing and singers. It belongs to the school of fiction of 'The First Violin' and other Anglo-German alliances between song and story, where music is, as the psychologists say, a marginal not a focal object, and in that school it takes creditable rank. Preliminary glimpses of rustic life in a German mill village, then the fussiness of operatic management in a little German city, small talk, small cabals, small and large behavior of the artists, sketches of the Hausfrau and the prima donna at home, and on the stage, are all neatly and readably presented, with flecks of humor relieving the sentiment. For sentiment is sure to predominate when a blonde, broad-shouldered Teuton is singing tenor rôles with a dark, plain, but fascinating English soprano. Music is treated from the manager's side of the curtain and the subject rather than from the audience's and the musician's. It is not so much a story of music itself as a gleaning of little facts pertaining to musical representations. Some conversations on acting are sensible, but when we read that the great tenor—the Bayreuth *Tristan*—being too ill to sing the chief part in "Lohengrin," "just put in an appearance as *Gottfried*," we feel free not to be oppressed by weight of specialized learning. The romance concerns the two singers and the tenor's uncongenial German wife, and is contrived to end romantically without crime.

Edmund Gosse writes an interesting introduction to the English translation of Lie's 'Niobe,' speaking of the author as "locally the most popular of the Northern novelists," and of this as one of his most characteristic stories. "Without reaching the intellectual passion of Ibsen or the romantic tenderness of Björnson," says Mr. Gosse, "Lie comes really closer than either of these more inspired poets to the genuine life of the Norwegians of to-day," and he adds, "He is with Mrs. Gaskell or M. Ferdinand Fabre; he is not entirely without relation, in some of his books, to that old-fashioned favorite of the public, Fredrika Bremer!" All this is certainly whetting to the appetite, and is justified by the story when allowance is made for the eternal spasmodic, the crudity, we did not quite say savagery, of the Scandinavian novel, not diminished by the alien tongue, however well translated. That this is done into good English idiom is true; but did any English reader ever fail to find in a novel of Norway or Sweden a hint of the jumping-jack—a combination of semi-barbarism with encyclopædic learning? The plan of 'Niobe' is no connected plot, but a family chronicle, which jerks along in shreds and threads, the warp and woof never getting together into a fabric—only knotted into a long dark, ever-darkening strand. It is the melancholy story of the conservative parents of a family—excellently drawn, both—driven distracted by the spirit of modernity that takes possession of one child after another. They must be artists, singers, actors; they must emancipate, illuminate, reform; they must use psychic force and submit to magnetic influences. They must leave their country home for wider fields, and (according to temperament and sex) betroth themselves manifold, influence poets, inspire spiritualists, reorganize society, or work financial havoc. In short, they "think in squares," as one of the characters puts it; "but, as it happens, the world is round." "In my time," says the distraught doctor father, "they took to drink. Nowadays they are the victims of their ever-changing fixed ideas." The aspirations and temptations of the young people do not always appeal to the understanding, but the despair of the parents is burned deep into the reader's sense. When the coil begins, the domestic troubles seem capable of adjustment, and the reader can freely admire the insight into the struggle between the spirit of yesterday and the spirit of to-morrow. But matters go from natural bad to unnatural worse; pessimism carries the day; luridest tragedy writes the epilogue. There is no more suggestion of Gaskell, but of Maupassant, of Melpomene, of Kilkenny and its exhaustive conflict. The sun that rose in Bremer goes under clouds of Ibsen, and sets invisibly to sound of dynamitic thunder.

Mrs. Deland is at her best in village stories; in the tales of Old Chester, at the best of her best. Many old friends are met here, chiefly and most notably Dr. Lavendar, who figures, like Wotan in the Nibelung stories, as the real hero of the successive comedies and tragedies that go on in his parish. He is a lovable and admirable old rector, wise as a serpent and (when necessary) as stinging; irretrievably old-fogy in the administration of parish matters, unblushingly bold in freeing love matches that have caught on snags. Whether declining to institute girls' clubs, boys' debating societies, an altar and a cross, or whether cutting Gordian knots with the audacity of Alexander but with the sword of Gideon, Dr. Lavendar is a fine old figure, sturdy, human, real. There are many eccentrics in his flock, yet not more than any village fauna may show. A girl's misguided altruism lays small tax on credulity, while we must credit it to the author's skill that no improbability attaches to the sketch of a circus acrobat who turns summersaults in the village tavern, and afterwards preaches in the bar-room; nor to that other sketch, of Miss Mary Ferris, who, being jilted, retires to a sofa, "crushed," for thirty years, to the unspeakable satisfaction of her sister Clara, luxuriating in this proof of gentility; nor to the fact that on a day Miss Mary should "acquire her legs and some clothing" and live to doubt whether, after all, her heart had been broken, "whether her fine delicacy had existed," to sister Clara's chagrin—Clara, who ever wallowed in delicacy, and who promptly fell ill of balked vicarious refinement. These are but a few out of many characters that are called into life in Mrs. Deland's pages, each individuality the more marked for the pettiness of incident round which it revolves.

It is interesting to note the difference between these Pennsylvania stories and kindred ones of New England. With the village features common to both, the Middle State conscience seems a trifle less feverish of the two; life is more juicy, humor less coy; there is more about match-making, less about the turning of old black silk gowns. To the Bible, too, is added the Prayer-Book, and the village children have lessons on the collects, with apples or jumbles afterwards. But whether Pennsylvania or the Episcopal Church or Mrs. Deland is responsible for these variations, we cannot say. It is certain that the author's comments on her village and on humanity at large are both penetrating and humorous to a high degree. In one only of the stories—that of the misunderstood little boy who, being bullied by his uncle, gets a cough and turns his face to the wall—is there a reminiscence of the morbid in situation which we have deplored in her novels. Mr. Pyle's illustrations may be classed among the happy few that really illustrate and adorn.

'Latitude 19°' begins with pirates off the coast of Hayti. It is the year 1820, during the reign of Christophe, self-styled "King Henry of the North." Like all good and proper pirate stories, this ends with rescue and a safe home-coming; but though other tales of castaways have been wild, wonderful, and anthropophagous, this exceeds them all. Possibly no other than the thorough-going pen, ink, and brush of woman could have furnished so ample an outfit of adventure, so strong a local color of hiky-poky-wiggery-wum. Othello would have forgotten to mention his own hairbreadth 'scapes had he read these. The Wandering Jew, reading, would have looked upon himself as old Caspar sitting in the sun.

There is no necessity at this day to direct attention to the interest, dignity, and power of Mr. Gilbert Parker's romances. In 'The Battle of the Strong' there is a captivating story and a fascinating topography. Of the Island of Jersey a hundred years ago there is a description that describes; of history and the particular freebooting French invasion of the day among the many of the centuries, there is a lively suggestion—Mr. Parker disclaiming more; and of fine writing in the best sense of the phrase there is an ever-presence. The characters we find of more varying excellence. The delineation of several strong natures battling for their various ends is done with force, but not always with persuasion. Would the high-souled Guida have consented for five years to make herself an accessory, another high-souled woman a victim, to the crime of bigamy? Despising the father, would she

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

have been so keen about the dukedom for the child? She clamors for it with far less restraint than she has shown in waiting for the establishment of his legitimacy and her own good name. In fact, about Guida, pure and aspiring as she is, there is a muddle of motive that discredits all that is said of her strength. Philip commits bigamy to win a dukedom, child-stealing to reattract his deserted wife; then, dying of a sword-wound, writes, in ink, alone and quite unassisted, a long and eloquently worded letter of confession and advice to his wife and son, with a quality of preaching that Mr. Day might have used in dying counsel to Sandford and Merton. On the other hand, the autobiographic letter of the reformed Détricand, romantically improbable, perhaps, is a fine bit of manly self-revelation, and carries its own justification. A little phrase—"when taking notice is supreme we call it genius"—is a good example of Mr. Parker's insight at its best. The ivory miniature of the little French chevalier, the deep-hued sketches of the fishermen and shipbuilders and undertakers of Jersey, are delightful achievements in portraiture. It is with a jar rather than a sense of contrast that one perceives, even in Jersey, the awful finality of title. From lowly kitchen interiors and breezy coasts and sea-swept rocks one finds one's self with a painful start in a world where kind hearts are not as much as coronets, nor simple faith a patch on Norman blood.

'A Hungarian Nabob,' its able translator tells us, was written nearly fifty years ago. "On its first appearance, Hungarian critics of every school at once hailed it as a masterpiece. It has maintained its popularity ever since," and "has reached the unassailable position of a national classic." We can readily believe Mr. Bain that the work of translating it into English, never done till now, has been an enormous labor, from the "difficulty of contending with a strange and baffling non-Aryan language," and from the difference in national tastes which has prompted a certain amount of condensation. The Continental European has nothing to do but read novels of pitiless length, if we may judge of demand by supply. 'A Hungarian Nabob' contains more than 350 pages, and has been shorn of a good third of its bulk to make it attractive to English readers. While agreeing with the translator in thinking this an improvement, we are less in accord with his estimate of the book. "Noble" is an adjective it would not have occurred to us to apply. Vivacious it is, with an almost Gallic swiftness, so that the pages slip fleetly by under the eye; but this is all that makes endurable the still remaining overplus of incident, often as coarse as it is irrelevant. If the descriptions are light, airy, elegant, the things described are heavy, crude, preposterous. The vices are gross, the virtues almost as much so; the horseplay, buffoonery, and riot, even the conversion of sinners, read on an alien plane of civilization, taste, and morals. To find them convincing, one must be either an enthusiastic translator or a non-Aryan of 1822.

In the early eighties the public lands of Texas, hitherto free to roaming cattle, were offered for sale, and wire fences began to be built to enclose vast tracts of land; sometimes lawfully, sometimes not, the water supply was cut off by the prohibiting wires, and the cattle perished by thousands. To cut the fences by midnight raids became a popular movement, and the excitement reached the pitch of a wire-fence war. All Western Texas was involved, and finally, after wrongs on both sides, State legislation restored harmony. This period makes a picturesque setting for a story of adventure and love. To these the author of 'The Wire Cutters' has added some remarkable studies in heredity from one's mother's first husband, and a tangled chain of death-bed misapprehensions which lead to results frequently observed in romance, but in real life avoidable by the free and candid use of postal cards. The book is interesting reading and able writing.

Mr. Oxenham has treated the murderer topic originally, in letting his man successfully evade discovery. For once the criminal covers every trace of his deed, is enabled to disappear from the haunts of his acquaintance and begin a new life. The new life proves to be a story of shipwreck and venture, with hot and cold water and the usual piratical and devil-fish attachments. It is not often that a novel is so commodious. The unexposed irregularities sit uneasily on the reader of the good old murder tale; the crimes fester into inconveniences; the modern improvement does not improve, we venture to think. To be sure, there is conventional balm in hacking the devil-fish to bits and in finding the hidden treasure; but the thought will intrude of the loved ones in the home office and the undiscovered victim buried in a rented garden, while the slayer is living a life of perfect chivalry in Pacific islands. The sea voyages are well done, with, naturally, much present-day "sliddering" and "squattering," and there is no denying to the story a vast and ingenious mechanism.

'A Writer of Books' opens attractively and proceeds brilliantly. Reluctantly does the reader at last admit that it must be numbered with cross-patch novels written by women for the emancipation of their sex and the disparagement of man. The interest is indeed maintained to the end, and the cleverness persists. The touch, too, is lighter and more reasonable than in many books of the malcontent class. Nevertheless, it is written with such definite partisanship, in a quarrel where at least one of the combatants is Nature, that it leaves a disappointing impression as a story and an unpleasant one as a sermon. 'All women are wronged; all men are rakes (excepting one specially provided for the heroine to fall in love with); all marriages are unhappy save now and then one between fools; all legislation is of men, therefore against women and not to be obeyed by them; woman is "kept rigorously in her 'proper sphere' by society's chief Bumble, the average man"—such are the lessons of the book, stamping it as what has been called "the novel of, by, and for the club-woman." Be it quickly added that it soars superior to its species in its style, which is excellent, its wit and humor, which are delicious, its temper, which is sharp but not shrieking, its length, which is comfortable and comforting. We must perforce think that, quite aside from the woman question, our author has not sounded human nature to its depths, from her saying, "Intelligent, imaginative children prefer true stories to fairy tales," but that she is re-creating nature as her theories would have it, in the loveless light of what the Tennessee moonshiner called "improving like hell."

BRADFORD'S LESSON OF POPULAR GOVERNMENT.—II.

The Lesson of Popular Government. By Gamaliel Bradford. The Macmillan Co. 2 vols. Pp. 520, 590.

The pride of organization which resents intrusion and feels antagonism at the suggestion of outside control or guidance in what it regards as its own province, is not altogether a vice on the part of the Legislature. The innate gregariousness of man which makes us flock together, makes us also more or less hostile to everything that opposes or tends to disintegrate the flock. We personify the organization itself, and identify ourselves with its welfare; and though this impulse has its origin in the humble tendencies which we share with the sheep and cattle, it is, after all, the condition on which human society is built, and without which social progress would have been impossible. Every private club resents any meddling with its special functions, as really as a Parliament or a Congress shows jealousy of dictation or too paternal advice from King or President. In criticising the abuse of this spirit of independence, we should be careful to acknowledge the normal value of it. Congress is a constitutional corporate body, which must do its own work according to the laws of its own organization, even though the result fall far short of perfect work. It may be helped or checked by criticism and discussion in the press, in reform clubs, or in partisan political clubs, but it could not be tolerated that Tammany or the Civil-Service Club should claim a share in its organized deliberations. Its responsible work must be done by its own members, in due order under parliamentary law, or it ceases to be a self-controlled organization. The speeches of its own members may be wise or foolish, solid or windy, but they are part of the process by which the body to which they belong reaches its conclusions—a part, so to speak, of its functional activity. Speeches from outsiders are foreign to its proper processes, are interruptions to its organic life and action, and inevitably rouse in the members a subtle repellent force, as if they implied an assumption that the body itself is not capable of doing its own work. Criticise this as we may, it is a natural phenomenon of all similar societies of men and is not peculiar to legislative assemblies.

Testing the matter in its application to Congress and the President, we can see how it is likely to work (or fail to work) in two examples which Mr. Bradford gives: one, the effort of Washington to get the advice and consent of the Senate as a sort of privy council in negotiations prior to the conclusion of a treaty with Indians (ii, 405); the other, a supposed case to illustrate the author's scheme (ii, 352):

"Washington entered the chamber and took the Vice-President's chair. He informed the Senate that he had called for their advice and consent to some propositions respecting the treaty with the Southern Indians, and had brought the Secretary of War with him to explain the business. Gen. Knox produced some papers which were read. Washington's presence embarrassed the Senate. Finally, a motion was made to refer the papers to a committee."

Maclay of Pennsylvania, who made the motion, tells the story:

"As I sat down, the President of the United States started up in a violent fret. 'This defeats every purpose of my coming here,'

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

were the first words that he said. He then went on, that he had brought his Secretary with him to give every necessary information; that the Secretary knew all about the business, and yet he was delayed and could not go on with the matter."

Finally, the President said that he would have no objection to postponing further consideration until the ensuing Monday, but he did not understand the matter of commitments. There was an awkward pause. "We waited for him to withdraw," says the diarist. "He did so with a discontented air."

The example shows very well, when analyzed from the legislator's point of view, the impracticability of such viva-voce intercourse between the Executive and the House. The President was not a Senator, and what he might properly say was to give them information on which he asked their advice. He must give it to the organized body from without, and, when received, the Senate must act upon it according to parliamentary methods of procedure within. If Mr. Maclay was not satisfied with the information given, did not feel ready to act, thought investigation might tend to conclusions different from the President's or General Knox's, the respectful as well as the parliamentary way was to refer, as he moved. The President desired haste, and was naturally disturbed by what seemed to him unnecessary delay. Could the Senate consent that he should be judge of the propriety of such delay? Could he properly debate with them the right and sincerity of motions which were in order under their rules? As the story is told, he was visibly disturbed, and his manner implied condemnation of their procedure. Suppose Mr. Maclay had felt it due to himself to repel this implication, would a tart, unpleasant debate have been seemly or profitable? If the President had no right to debate (as was the fact), he was out of order in objecting to the motion; and, if out of order, could the Vice-President call him to order? The embarrassed silence which is described as lasting till he withdrew, is the proof that the Senate saw opening before it practical difficulties, which revealed as by a flash the mistake of thinking that the intercourse between it and the Administration could be carried on in that way. It was an *experimentum crucis*, and was enough.

The case supposed by Mr. Bradford is after the cabinet shall have been admitted to the floor of Congress. He assumes that the bill passed gives the cabinet the privileges, "*verbatim et literatim*, with neither more nor less," contained in the Senate report (ii, 336). They are, the "right to participate in debate," and "to give information asked by resolution or in reply to questions" (ii, 325). In stating his supposed case, Mr. Bradford recognizes the fact that the cabinet officer would not be a member of the House (ii, 351).

The case, then, is this: The Secretary of the Treasury, at the meeting of Congress, appears and takes a seat near the Speaker's desk in the House of Representatives. "He is simply an agent of the Administration, having no vote, but presenting the wants of the Treasury and the effect of the existing tariff upon the financial interests of the country" *(ibid.)*. He rises, and, being recognized by the Speaker, "does not embark upon a radical reform of the tariff, but proposes a few changes of detail—among others, for example, free wool—and makes these a pretext for the discussion of the whole subject. If a private member had made the same proposal, it would be referred with a hundred others to the appropriate committee. . . . . But he is a very different individual. In the course of his speech he would insist, respectfully but earnestly, upon the importance of immediate public discussion, and would close with submitting a resolution to that effect" *(id.* 352).

After commenting on the probability that this would result in the Secretary's becoming the leader of the House in financial matters, pitted against a leader of the Opposition elected in caucus, Mr. Bradford asks, "Is it not evident how the 'advice and suggestions' of the Pendleton report might develop into something vastly more important, and that such are the 'obvious advantages' which the author of that report pointed to, but did not see fit to discuss?" (*id.* 353).

It is indeed quite evident that when matters had progressed as far as the case supposed, the plan of the bill would already have "developed into something vastly more important," and something which could have become possible only when the legislative body had wholly put away that "inherent jealousy of the executive" which the author finds innate in it. It is supposed to follow from the provision of the proposed bill that the President's Secretaries should have "the right to participate in debate on matters relating to the business of their respective departments," without becoming members of either house.

Let us suppose Mr. Reed in the chair, and Mr. Carlisle as Secretary rising at the opening of the session to "propose a few changes of detail" in the "existing tariff." Mr. Speaker, with his bland but disconcerting smile, would politely suggest that no subject relating to the business of the Treasury was then before the House for debate, and that Mr. Secretary was out of order. If Mr. Carlisle then produced a bill to amend the tariff so as to put wool on the free list, and should say that he proposed to introduce it and to open debate upon it on its first reading, the Speaker, with increasing geniality of ironical deference, would call the Secretary's attention to the fact that bills or resolutions could be introduced only by members of the House, that his bill must be adopted and introduced by some actual member, be referred in usual course, and, when it was duly reported by the committee and before the House for debate, he would most gladly recognize the Secretary to discuss it. The difficulty in imagining this scene is chiefly in supposing that a veteran parliamentarian like Mr. Carlisle would take the rôle assigned him, or that he and the Speaker would not reënact the parts of the Roman augurs and laugh in each other's faces at the thought of the bill for free wool being reported back from Mr. McKinley's committee.

The truth is, that Mr. Bradford's supposed case implies that the initial velocity of the Pendleton bill had already made cabinet ministers members of Congress, and given them an effective initiative in legislation, if not an exclusive one. He and we agree that this cannot be done without amending the Constitution, which says that "no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office" (art. i, sec. 6). Voting is not the only distinctive mark of membership of a political body. To take part in its proper business, to shape it by introducing measures and by amending others, to seek to guide or control it by the motions which affect its progress and continue or interrupt the sessions, are quite as necessary marks of membership as voting. The more one thinks about it, the more he may well doubt whether participation in debate can be extended to any but members, for there are times when the right to hold the floor may, of itself, defeat a measure. At least, the right to speak without efficient part in the business is apt to prove a vain show, and, after the first curiosity had worn off, would be only adding another speech to the superabundance of talk, when the measure under discussion could rarely be kept in the form selected by its draughtsman, or remain such that an administration would choose to be responsible for it. In short, we find ourselves coming back to the conclusion that any efficient parliamentary leadership is impossible without full membership of the body.

Nor is this unreasonable. Transaction of business is out of the question if an organized body is subject to intrusion and cannot keep full control of its own procedure. Its presiding officer refuses to recognize strangers by a rule which is a necessary condition of its existence, from Congress to a college debating society. Suppose Mr. Bryan had risen in the gallery of the St. Louis convention and moved that bimetallism, sixteen to one, be added to Mr. Hanna's *chef d'œuvre* on the currency. The cries of "Hustle him out!" would have been only a rough popular assertion of a rule, quite right in itself, that only the members of the convention can shape its course or be responsible for its action. Mr. Bryan would have made a ringing speech, if permitted; the sensational incident would have attracted no end of public comment; popular interest would have been at the boiling-point; the educational effect might be said to be enormous; but, just the same, it would not work for common use.

Mr. Bradford does not escape the common tendency in debate to exaggerate the things which make for his contention. The asserted inefficiency of writing as the means of communication between the President and Congress is one of these. Experience seems to prove the contrary. Information on the state of the country is in its nature an assemblage of very numerous and multifarious facts, tending to the statistical, and demanding exactness of detail and often elaborate tabulation. Blue-books are as common and as necessary under the English system as under our own. A minister, on the floor of Parliament, is as dependent on them for the material of legislation and for the support of proposed measures, as any chairman of committee on the floor of Congress. The trouble is not in conveying information in writing, nor argument in favor of a measure; it is only in the give-and-take of rapid debate and the prompt exposure of specious objections that oral readiness is demanded. There is great room for improvement in the character of some of our executive communications to the Legislature. We, no doubt, tend too much to orating on all sorts of subjects. A study of terse statement of business and a clear and telling marshalling of dominant facts is, we may admit, a neglected branch of public education. If inaugural addresses were abolished and annual messages reduced to a bare statement of really important facts and recommendations in tersest business style, or broken into several, with a single

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

important topic for each, we should hear less of the hiding of ideas in voluminous disquisitions that people have not time to read. If the short summary rests upon extensive proofs, these can make blue-books for reference and study, without being embodied in a message for popular reading.

Our author very frequently speaks of the absorption by the Legislature of executive powers, but we miss a clear definition of what those powers are, and a discriminating statement of the encroachments. The law-making body certainly has, under the Constitution, the right to make laws—all the laws. These include not only the great and permanent rules which establish freedom and maintain essential rights, but the complete system of the business organization and conduct of affairs, the levying of taxes and the appropriation of the revenue, the fixing of the number of subordinate officials, their duties, and their salaries. The administration of these laws in the daily progress of business, the personal supervision of subordinates, the receipt and disbursement of moneys, the arrest of wrongdoers, the preservation of the peace, the movements of army and navy, the official intercourse with foreign nations—these are the executive duties, and which of them does the Legislature attempt to perform in fact? Is the debate not rather upon the extent to which the executive may go beyond administration proper—the faithful execution of the laws that are made—and have power in the law-making? What else is all the talk of debating the bills before Congress, of leading either house or the parties in either house, or of having the initiative in introducing public bills? Our system gives already to the executive a very important share in law-making, as it gives to the Senate apart from Congress (*i. e.*, the official union of Representatives and Senate) two executive duties which it performs in executive session. Aside from these, what additional powers has either department obtained by encroachment? It is, of course, a perfectly legitimate aim to secure a recasting of the distribution of powers by amendment of our Constitution, if such shall seem wise, but if the odium of encroachment is used as an argument, the conquests gained should be accurately described.

The examples of executive commissions for administering certain classes of laws, the number of which in Massachusetts Mr. Bradford criticises with apparent reason, are the creation of subordinate offices for the performance of executive work, and may be unwise; but unless the Legislature appoints the persons who are made commissioners, the making of the law cannot be properly described as an assumption of executive powers. A multiple executive is very open to criticism as an institution, but if it be permitted by the Constitution of the State, the question is one of legislative wisdom and discretion, and not of power. In the interest of intelligent reform we owe it to ourselves to preserve the distinction clearly.

In dealing with the veto power, Mr. Bradford says that "it involves an absurdity. What sort of executive government," he asks, "is that which has no power to say what shall be, but only what shall not be done?" (i, 49). As the subject is that of law-making, is it not clear that the executive government which has power to say what laws shall be made as well as what shall not be made, is a pure and simple autocracy? The author cannot mean that. Our executive has now the power to say what laws are, in his opinion, necessary or desirable, and constantly exercises it. If he chose, he could accompany his recommendation with the draft of any bill. If he does not do so, it is because there is never any difficulty in getting a party friend to introduce the bill to carry out the recommendation. The trouble is not in saying what bills shall be introduced. Mr. Bradford's idea of initiative in the executive is that he should also say what bills shall *not* be introduced. Instead of showing the absurdity of the veto power, this is a proposal for a very great extension of it.

But in treating the subject generally we must not forget that there is never a time in any civilized state when a body of laws is not existing and in force. All practical legislation may be divided into acts to provide means for carrying on the established system and acts to change that system. The power to say with the barons, *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*, is no vain or futile prerogative. Under our Constitution it counts not only for a complete suspension of the act, but for a final adverse vote against it equal to sixteen per cent. of the members of each house of Congress. This preservative force against new laws made by "new lords," and in favor of the laws as they stand, is the signal guarantee of deliberation and of progress in accord with matured opinion.

If Mr. Bradford's suggestion of a reform in our government by his definite plan seems to us open to sound criticism, no one can fail to agree heartily with him in regard to the need of pointing out clearly and measuring accurately the abuses of our methods and practices. Greatest of these is the perversion of party spirit and discipline into a machine run by unscrupulous men with a single eye to the power and profit of controlling the Government and its offices. The boss and his organized body of "workers" constitute a business organization as definite and complete as any railway or manufacturing corporation. The dividends in place, in money, or in both, are the stimulus to activity in the stockholders and to their devotion to the manager whose craft secures the profit, and whose cunning dupes the innocent voters of a great party into thinking that they are working for the success of important principles when in fact they are laboring only to enrich their masters. The greatest present question for the American people is not whether the executive should have a greater share in the legislation of the republic, but whether a close organization, unknown to Constitution or laws, shall continue a plainly despotic rule over us, while we are amused with going through the forms of electing presidents and congresses that are the puppets worked by the boss and his tools behind the scenes. Through the whole of Mr. Bradford's book there is a clear recognition and a strong presentation of the vital need of our awaking to the burning question whether we are to preserve anything worthy the name of freedom. His chapters are a great accumulation of evidences of the perils to which popular institutions are exposed, and he does not neglect to make the history bear both directly and indirectly upon our own condition.

Fur and Feather Tales. By Hamblen Sears. Harper & Brothers. 1899.

Mr. Sears, in his first paper ("Henry's Birds"), describes a method for luring wild-fowl within gun-shot so novel that it cannot fail to attract the attention even of sportsmen long since divorced from all illusions. Application would be a better word than method, the point being the mechanical manipulation of live decoys to lure black ducks. To those familiar with the wariness of that species, particularly when it is closely shot day and night for months in succession, the operation will excite astonishment. Where live ducks are employed as decoys, a conventional method of tethering them is generally resorted to. No training is necessary to make them effective as lures. They are commonly slightly wounded birds that have been retrieved, or the offspring of captive wild parents. "Henry's Birds," it would appear, were of the domestic barnyard sort, coached by that ideal gunner by a system too long to describe, but which develops in ducks phenomenal intelligence. "Henry's Birds" not only were mentally gifted, but possessed remarkably robust constitutions, as the treatment to which they were subjected will discover.

On a frosty night in January, on Cape Cod, Mr. Sears and Henry, with a crate of thirty of the "Birds," proceed to a pond, evidently unfreezable, the resort of black ducks. What follows had better be described in the words of the author:

"And in this bitterly cold water, which froze on the duck's feathers as soon as it touched them, we tied those unoffending creatures by the leg to a cord which ran out on the water and disappeared in the darkness. It appeared that this glacial cord was a 'runner,' and that it extended out into the pond four hundred feet to a pulley on the end of a long pole, which was anchored in such a manner as to be held just under the surface. The line running through this returned to the stand, passed through a small hole to the inside, and out again through another, until, at the end of its eight-hundred-foot journey, it joined itself and formed a circuit. To this the ducks were tied by a leather noose. As one bird was fastened and dropped into the icy water, I pulled in on the other part of the rope and gently forced Mistress Duck three or four feet out on the black water." Thus in a few moments we had what to any wild duck, to say nothing of any tame man, would appear to be a flock of birds swimming about at random and raising a horrible racket in all this silence of the night. The thing was repeated with more ducks, on another and similar endless runner which ran to another spot on the pond. This done, Henry directed me to pull first one, then the other flock out to the pulleys."

This was rather a bad quarter of an hour for "Henry's Birds." However, they survived it, as did some of their companions that were tethered in the water alongshore. At intervals others of the "Birds" held in reserve were tossed in the air to flutter over their mates and then return to the blind. What this action had to do with the luring of the wariest of wild-fowl is not clearly explained. The dawn of day in January, on Cape Cod, is tardy and morose. With its arrival on that particular morning a flock of ten black ducks drifted in among the live decoys. Of these the concealed gunners killed eight when they had drawn together and while *they were alight upon the surface of the water*, the ninth when wounded and swimming off, and the tenth and last as it rose in flight. That Mr. Sears has a suspicion that his proceedings on this occasion were unsportsmanlike is evident in a quasi-apology which he offers in these words:

"If you are a sportsman you are saying at

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

this moment, 'That is no sport; it is slaughter.' In a measure, judged by the highest standards, that is true: but you deceived the duck while you crawled up on him, and I deceived him when I made him crawl up on me. It is not in the strictest sense the ideal of sport; but, on the other hand, it is neither mean nor unworthy of a good sportsman. And the study, preparation, time, *money* [the italics are ours], and excitement of it all surpass the practice of crawling up on the bird or of shooting over wooden 'coys.'"

"Qui s'excuse, s'accuse." A record of this character is read, mainly, by youths, who, by reason of its form and imprint, accept it as authoritative. It is not surprising, therefore, that the methods of the pot-hunter are superseding rapidly those of the conservative sportsman of other days.

The remainder of the papers which comprise Mr. Sears's volume relate to stag-hunting in France; the shooting of moose in Maine, of reindeer in Norway, and over the preserves of Robins Island. There is nothing in them that calls for special notice; they are on a level with the higher average of this sort of literature. Mr. Frost's illustrations, as usual, from a pictorial point of view, leave nothing to be desired. In some of this artist's drawings of sports of the field, he is careless in maintaining the correct relative size between the game and the gunner whose weapon is directed towards it. This is indicated in the illustration opposite page 36 in the book under notice. The flying duck in this instance cannot be less than 300 yards from the gun that is being discharged at it.

Discussions in Education. By Francis A. Walker. Henry Holt & Co. 1899.

Mr. T. P. Munroe has here gathered together the addresses and essays of the late Gen. Walker which deal with educational problems. The writer's interest in special questions of education does not appear to have been marked until, in 1881, he assumed the Presidency of the Institute of Technology. The present volume, however, shows that he had very definite convictions on the subject of technical education. About a third of the 333 pages before us consists of addresses on such topics as the relation of professional and technical to general education—topics, that is to say, closely connected with President Walker's immediate interests in the Institute. His contention that the study of chemistry and physics exercises a moral and intellectual influence which "stands in strong contrast with the dangerous tendencies to plausibility, sophistry, casuistry, and self-delusion which so insidiously beset the pursuit of metaphysics, dialectics, and rhetoric, according to the tradition of the schools" (p. 22), is somewhat out of date in these days, when students in the faculty of arts are no longer trained to make the worse appear the better reason. We have fallen on times when special pleading for the retention of the classics in education would be more to the point. On the question whether a technical school should be under the wing of a university, President Walker comes to the conclusion that it is more to the advantage of students of technology to be detached "in schools devoted to their own purposes, than in schools where snobbishness makes odious comparisons, and where fashions are set in respect to student life, conduct, and dress, which they have neither the means nor the inclination to imitate" (p. 50). In the group of addresses on college problems, the author expresses somewhat optimistic views on the relation of college athletics to the life of the community:

"Who shall say that the remarkable enthusiasm for physical training and the intense interest in athletic contests which have been so suddenly developed in our country, may not be clearly seen, a generation hence, to have accompanied, and that through no accidental association, the elevation of art to a far higher and nobler place than it had before occupied in the thoughts and affections of our people? . . . The vision of the Apollo may yet rise to the view of thousands out and up from the arena at Springfield, as erst it rose before the *thronging multitudes of Olympia*" (p. 285).

There is a paragraph on p. 270 which has a touch of Sophoclean irony in the light of recent events:

"As the United States have grown more powerful," wrote Gen. Walker in 1893, "they have grown more peaceful. To-day, Canada and Mexico repose under the shadow of our *irresistible power*. . . . *It is even difficult* to secure from an over-lavish Congress appropriations sufficient to enable us to make a decent show of naval power in the great harbors of the world. It is true, we have recently suffered an apparent brief access of Jingoism, . . . but the readiness with which the affair with Chile was adjusted, and the general applause with which our flag was hauled down from the Government House at Hawaii, showed how superficial and how partial was the infection."

The volume is an interesting contribution to the history of American education, and forms a sort of supplement to the lately published addresses of Presidents Eliot and Gilman.

Fields, Factories, and Workshops. By P. Kropotkin. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1899.

That formerly well-known economist, Henry C. Carey, would have taken delight in this book. Its brilliant author, who, perhaps, never heard of Carey, has managed to lay hold of his most absurd fallacies, and to found an ideal society upon them which surpasses the conception of Edward Bellamy. Carey, it will be remembered, detested transportation, and its necessary concomitant, trade. He held that the products of the earth should be consumed where they were produced, and that the factory and the farm should be side by side. The idea of carrying goods across the ocean revolted him, and it is doubtful if he could have reconciled himself to the growth of our exports of manufactures. The author of this book, at all events, believes that commerce is doomed. Every nation is learning to supply its own wants, and the consequence will be that as no foreign market for manufactures will exist, the laborers now engaged in supplying this market will have to take to agriculture.

That they can do so with infinite profit is the burden of this book. The author narrates, not without eloquence, the wonderful achievements of some modern agriculturists, and concludes that all agriculture should show like results. It is not only better, but cheaper, according to him, to raise the fabulous crops which are produced in the reports of bureaus of agriculture. The character of the soil is immaterial; if it is inferior, it is easy to transform it. In fact, he observes, the reputed richness of the Western prairie lands does not exist; the land of the Eastern States is better than that of Iowa.

As for one reason Carey would have delighted in this book, so for another reason would Bastiat have rejoiced over it. The French writer showed the wonderful gains to many industries that would arise from shutting out the rays of the sun, and Kropotkin ingenuously asserts that it is economically more advantageous to raise tropical fruits under glass in the temperate zone than to import them. Every region is to become its own producer and its own consumer of manufactured goods, and also of agricultural products. Even now grapes are grown "at less expense of human labor, both for capital outlay and yearly work," in the vineries of the London suburbs than in the vineyards of the Rhine, or on Lake Leman; and "home-grown fruit is always preferable to the half-ripe produce which is imported from abroad."

We are also told that the high cost of growing wheat in England is a consequence of the high rents which prevail in that country, and that it is not the soil of America which causes our abundant crops, but the stimulus given to farmers by our agricultural bureaus and their distribution of seeds. By "nationalizing" the land, and by "associated labor," two or three inhabitants to the acre can be maintained, so that the most densely peopled countries of Europe could easily support twice their present population.

Altogether, we have here a really remarkable collection of exploded theories, visionary speculations, and interesting misinformation, set forth in an engaging style, and issued by the publishers in a most attractive form.

From Reefer to Rear-Admiral. By Benjamin F. Sands, Rear-Admiral U. S. N. F. A. Stokes Co.

This modest volume contains the autobiography of the late Rear-Admiral B. F. Sands, prefaced by an excellent portrait and an introduction by his son, Mr. F. P. B. Sands, a well-known member of the Washington bar. *Admiral Benjamin Sands* was the younger Admiral of that name; the elder one, the patriarchal Joshua R. Sands, antedating him in the naval service and exceeding him in the length of his life and naval career. Our author entered the service from Kentucky over seventy years ago, in the period between the second war with Great Britain and the war with Mexico. In this era, duelling was prevalent, and the author relates the occurrence of a number of encounters which came within his own observation. In one of these affairs the elder Sands was engaged, and when this duel was brought to the attention of President Jackson, he remarked that he was determined to stop duelling between officers and civilians, but, so far as affairs between officers were concerned, he would not interfere, since their profession was fighting and their training that of arms. In those days the youngsters of the navy were as ready to marry as to fight a duel, and the author mentions a case of a midshipman on $19 a month who sought the hand of the daughter of an old officer, with no dread of the future provided he found shelter under his father-in-law's roof.

Admiral Sands served with the Coast Survey in its early days under the eccentric Superintendent, F. R. Hassler, a Swiss by birth and education. The time favored the development of individuality in and out of the service, and there was no more striking figure than Hassler. Sands's service dates back to the discovery of Gedney's Channel into New York Bay, which demonstrated to the merchants of New York the commercial value of this survey of the coast. After

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

extensive service of other nature, which included cruising for slaves on the coast of Africa, and during the Mexican war, our author became connected with the depot of charts and instruments at Washington, which afterwards developed into the Naval Observatory at that place. Serving during the civil war with credit and distinction on blockade and at Fort Fisher, he afterwards became Superintendent of the Observatory with which he had been formerly connected. This position he retained for seven years, during which period the great equatorial was installed, and the solar eclipses of 1869 and 1870 and the transit of Venus of 1874 observed under his auspices. The parties sent out for the observation of the transit of Venus, especially those carried out in the *Swatara* for the southern hemisphere, as the present writer can testify, were fitted out in a manner most creditable to the commission of which Admiral Sands was chairman.

His biography, though not as detailed nor as far-reaching in some respects as that of his son-in-law, Admiral Franklin, will be found, nevertheless, most readable.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Allen, Grant. The European Tour. Dodd, Mead & Co. $1.25.
Andler, Charles. Le Prince de Bismarck. Paris: Georges Bellais.
Atterbury, Rev. A. P. Islam in Africa. Putnams.
Batten, Rev. L. W. The Old Testament from the Modern Point of View. James Pott & Co.
Bennett, Prof. W. H. The Book of Joshua. [Polychrome Bible.] Dodd, Mead & Co. $1.25.
Bickerdyke, John. The Passing of Prince Rozan. Putnams. $1.
Books I have Read. Dodd, Mead & Co. $1.
Bookwalter, J. W. Siberia and Central Asia. Springfield, O.: The Author.
Britton, Wiley. The Civil War on the Border. Vol. II. Putnams. $3.50.
Brown, Helen Dawes. A Civilian Attaché. Scribners. 75c.
Bugge, Prof. Sophus. The Home of the Eddic Poems. Revised edition. [Grimm Library.] London: David Nutt.
Burton, Richard. Literary Likings. Boston: Copeland & Day. $1.25.
Carruth, Frances W. Those Dale Girls. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. $1.25.
Cobban, J. M. The Angel of the Covenant. London: Methuen & Co.; New York: R. F. Fenno & Co. $1.50.
Dewolf, D. F. Character, Not Creeds. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke Co. $1.25.
Donnelly, J. G. Jesus Delaney. Macmillan. $1.50.
Dutton, S. T. Social Phases of Education. Macmillan. $1.25.
Emerson, R. W. Nature, and Compensation. [Riverside Series.] Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 15c.
England, H. S. Shots at Random. J. S. Ogilvie Publishing Co. $1.
Ferris, A. J. Pauperizing the Rich. Philadelphia: T. S. Leach & Co. $1.25.
Ford, J. D. M. Moratin's El Sí de las Niñas. Boston: Ginn & Co. 55c.
Foreman, John. The Philippine Islands. 2d ed., revised and enlarged. Scribners. $5.
Fuller, Caroline M. Across the Campus. Scribners. $1.50.
Gardiner, C. A. Our Right to Acquire and Hold Foreign Territory. Putnams. 50c.
Gibier, Dr. Paul. Psychism. Essays. New York: Bulletin Publishing Co.
Glenn, T. A. Some Colonial Mansions and Those Who Lived in Them. Philadelphia: H. T. Coates & Co. $5.
Halpin, W. R. Juan Pico. New York: R. L. Weed Co. $1.50.
Handbook of Constitutional Law. [Home Law School Series.] Conneaut, O.: Home Study Publishing Co. 50c.
Harnack, Prof. Adolf. Thoughts on the Present Position of Protestantism. London: A. & C. Black; New York: Macmillan. $1.
Harraden, Beatrice. The Fowler. Dodd, Mead & Co. $1.50.
Herford, Prof. C. H. The Works of Shakspere. Vol. III. Macmillan. $1.50.
Hoenig, Fritz. Inquiries concerning the Tactics of the Future. Longmans, Green & Co. $5.
Jennings, N. A. A Texas Ranger. Scribners. $1.25.
Julleville, Prof. L. P. de. Histoire de la Langue et de la Littérature Française. Tome vii. 1800-1850. Paris: Colin & Cie.
Knapp, Prof. W. I. Life, Writings, and Correspondence of George Borrow. 2 vols. Putnams. $6.00.
Ladd, Prof. G. T. A Theory of Reality. Scribners. $4.
Lang, Andrew. Myth, Ritual and Religion. 2 vols. Longmans, Green & Co. $2.50.
Lee, Charles. Paul Carah, Cornishman. Appletons.
MacDonagh, Michael. Irish Life and Character. 2d ed. Whittaker. $1.75.
McCall, S. W. Thaddeus Stevens. [American Statesmen.] Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.25.
McCarthy, Justin. The Story of the People of England in the Nineteenth Century. Part II. Putnams. $1.50.
McIlwaine, H. C. Martyrs of Empire. R. F. Fenno & Co. $1.25.
Merriman, H. S. Prisoners and Captives. R. F. Fenno & Co. $1.25.
Negri, Ada. Fate. Boston: Copeland & Day. $1.25.
Page, D. P. Theory and Practice of Teaching. American Book Co.
Parker, Gay. The Fight for Dominion. A Romance of our First War with Spain. E. R. Herrick & Co. $1.50.
Paulsen, Prof. Friedrich. A System of Ethics. Scribners. $3.
Phillpotts, Eden. Children of the Mist. Putnams. $1.50.
Pierson, Rev. A. T. George Müller of Bristol. Baker & Taylor Co.
Prescott, E. L. The Measure of a Man. R. F. Fenno & Co. $1.25.
Reid, Sir Wemyss. The Life of William Ewart Gladstone. 2 vols. Putnams, $4.50.
Risley, R. V. Men's Tragedies. Macmillan. $1.50.
Saunders, T. B. The Quest of Faith. London: A. & C. Black; New York: Macmillan.
Simpson, Rev. A. B. Heaven Opened. Christian Alliance Publishing Co.
Takahashi, Sakuyé. Cases on International Law during the Chino-Japanese War. Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan.
The Short Line War. By Merwin-Webster. Macmillan. $1.50.
The Statesman's Year-Book, 1899. Macmillan. $3.
Thwaites, R. G. The Jesuit Relations. Vols. xli. and xlii. Cleveland: Burrows Bros. Co.
Toy, Prof. C. H. The Book of Ezekiel. [Polychrome Bible.] Dodd, Mead & Co. $2.50.
Trumbull, Annie E. Mistress Content Cradock. A S. Barnes & Co. $1.
Tyler, R. I. The Blind Goddess. Stuyvesant Publishing Co.
Wendt, F. W. Transatlantics. Brentanos. $1.
Whitelock, L. C. How Hindsight Met Provincialatis. Boston: Copeland & Day. $1.25.
Willets, Gibson. The Loves of Twenty and One. F. T. Neely.
Winterburn, Florence H. Nursery Ethics. 2d ed. Baker & Taylor Co. $1.
Winterburn, Florence A. From the Child's Standpoint. Baker & Taylor Co. $1.25.

"One of the most important contributions yet made to literary history by an American scholar."
—Outlook.

BEERS' ENGLISH ROMANTICISM
In the Eighteenth Century. 12mo, $2
HENRY HOLT & CO., N.Y.

New Novel by the author of "The Derelicts."
Idols. By W. J. LOCKE.
Crown 8vo. $1.50.

A new volume of poems.
THE WIND AMONG THE REEDS
BY W. B. YEATS.
$1.25.

JOHN LANE, 140 Fifth Ave., N.Y.

The Isles and Shrines of Greece.
By SAMUEL J. BARROWS. With 19 plates. 8vo, $2.00.
"Scholarly readers will be charmed with Mr. Barrows's book. While it will refresh the mind upon the classical lessons of long ago, the Greece of the past, it pleasingly connects them with the Greece of to-day."—*Chicago Inter-Ocean.*
LITTLE, BROWN & CO., Boston.

BOOKS.—All Out-of-print Books supplied, no matter on what subject. Acknowledged the world over as the most expert book finders extant. Please state wants. BAKER'S GREAT BOOKSHOP, 14-16 John Bright Street, Birmingham, England.

FRENCH BOOKS at WM. R. JENKINS', Publisher, 851 SIXTH AVENUE, NEW YORK.
Complete Catalogue on application.

Selected Examples of Decorative Art.

Reproduced in half-tone from objects in the South Kensington Museum, and intended for the use of Designers, Architects, Students in Art Schools, &c., &c. Published monthly; each part, containing 12 plates, about 12½x19 inches, price $1.00.

*** Illustrated prospectus sent to any address upon request.

LONGMANS, GREEN, & CO.,
91-93 Fifth Ave., New York.

F. W. CHRISTERN
(DYRSEN & PFEIFFER, Successors),
429 5th Ave., between 38th and 39th Sts., New York.
Importers of Foreign Books; Agents for the leading Paris Publishers; Tauchnitz's British authors, Teubner's Greek and Latin Classics. Catalogues of stock mailed on demand. New books received from Paris and Leipzig as soon as issued.

ELLIS & ELVEY,
Dealers in Old and Rare Books,
CATALOGUES of CHOICE BOOKS and ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS published periodically.
Rare Early English Literature, Early Printed Books in Black Letter, Ancient Artistic Bookbindings, rare Prints and Autographs, etc. Only fine specimens are dealt with.
29 NEW BOND STREET, LONDON, ENG.

TRANSLATIONS AND REPRINTS.
Vol. IV., Nos. 1 and 2.
Early Church History.
The Early Christian Persecutions..... 20c.
Canons and Creeds of the First Four Councils..... 20c.
Circulars on application. D. C. MUNRO, Univ. of Pennsylvania, Philada., Pa.

C. A. KOEHLER & CO., FOREIGN BOOKS
149a Tremont St. (Lawrence Building, corner West St.)
Boston, Mass. Importations from Europe.
Catalogues on application.

BOOKS, SECOND-HAND AND NEW, Standard and Rare. Books bought. Catalogue issued. E. W. JOHNSON, 2 E. 42d St., N. Y.

Story of the Nations.

New numbers. Fully illustrated. Large 12mo, each $1 50; half leather, each $1.75.

53. **The West Indies.** A History of the Islands of the West Indian Archipelago, together with an Account of their Physical Characteristics, Natural Resources, and Present Condition. By AMOS KIDDER FISKE, A.M.

Nos. 54 and 55. **The Story of the People of England in the 19th Century.** By JUSTIN MCCARTHY, M P. In two volumes.

No. 56. **The Story of Austria.** The Home of the Hapsburg Dynasty, from 1282 to the Present Day. By SYDNEY WHITMAN.

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS,
27 & 29 W. 23d St., New York.

Old Books. Rare Books,
Choice Books. Quaint Books.
Typography. Topography.
BOOKS ON ALL SUBJECTS.
FIRST EDITIONS, ETC.
ILLUSTRATED CATALOGUE, pronounced to be the ***most original*** and ***interesting list issued,*** 364 pages, 8vo, with 370 Reproductions of Plates, Portraits, and Title-pages, *post free,* 6s. (which sum is deducted from the first purchase of 30s.)
PICKERING & CHATTO,
Antiquarian Booksellers, 66 Haymarket, St. James, London, S. W.

BOOKS AT LIBERAL DISCOUNTS. | **When calling please ask for MR. GRANT. Whenever you need a Book, address MR. GRANT.**
Before buying books, write for quotations. An assortment of catalogues and special slips of books at reduced prices sent for 10 cent stamp.
F. E. GRANT, Books.
23 W. 42D ST., NEW YORK.
[Mention this advertisement and receive a discount.]

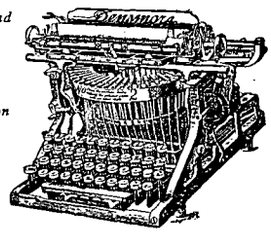
AUTHORS For all business between Author and Publisher, address EDITORIAL BUREAU, 120 Liberty St., New York. Mention *Nation.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Speed Escapement of the DENSMORE TYPEWRITER

places it at the head of the typewriter world in this important particular. By its use the action is rendered so rapid that it is impossible for even the most expert operator to equal the speed of the machine. This device, while of great simplicity, is quite wonderful in its results.

We shall be glad to explain its workings to any who may call. Descriptive pamphlets and other information for those living at a distance.



Densmore Typewriter Company, 316 Broadway, New York City

Swiftest, Strongest

Saves Most and Lasts Longest

Remington Standard Typewriter

WYCKOFF, SEAMANS & BENEDICT,
327 Broadway, New York.

GENTLEMEN, HUNTING

A BEAUTIFUL—AND SPECIALLY USEFUL DURING THE SUMMER—PRESENT FOR A LADY, 17-70, WILL FIND

THE BETHLEHEM SHOULDER-SHAWL

a most appropriate and stylish Birthday or Wedding Gift. They are entirely handwoven (about 40 inches square, with 6-inch fringe) at Bethlehem by expert Saxon weavers. Softest wool and silk—warp silk and woof wool—in rich light green, delicate pink, recherché red, pure white, or black color. When ordering, state color wanted.

(Appetizing Moravian Sugar Cake—German Kaffee Kuchen—recipe sent with every shawl; or recipe alone for stamp.)

Postpaid and Registered on receipt of $7.50—check, draft, or money order—to

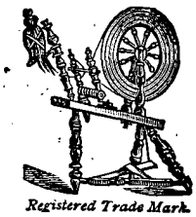
The Susacuac Weaving Co.

12 Moravian Church St., Bethlehem, Pa.

CLARENDON PRESS PUBLICATIONS.

For sale by all booksellers. Send for Catalogue.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS,
(American Branch) 91 5th Ave., New York.



Registered Trade Mark.

SPECIAL SALE

OF HIGH-CLASS

Washable Dress Fabrics

AT "THE LINEN STORE,"

At About Half Price

Fancy Linen and Cotton Duck Suiting for Golfing and Cycling wear, reduced from 50 and 60c.	25c.	Woven Colored Piques, reduced from 65 and 75c.	45c.
Printed Piques, colored and white grounds, reduced from 40 and 50c.	25c.	Fancy Scotch Ginghams, reduced from 25 and 35c.	18c.
Bayadere Tucked and Printed Muslins, reduced from 40c.	25c.	Fancy Scotch and English Crepon Corded Bourette and Silk Ginghams, reduced from 40, 50, 60, and 75c.	25c.

JAMES McCUTCHEON & CO.

14 West 23d St., New York.

The Commercial Directory of the World.

1797. 102d Year. 1899.

(ANNUAIRE DU COMMERCE DIDOT-BOTTIN).

Published by the

DIDOT-BOTTIN CO., Ltd., of Paris.

Paid-up Capital, 7,500,000 francs.

N. Y. OFFICE, - - 81 TIMES BUILDING.

Is the most comprehensive Trade Register ever published. Contains over 10,000 pages and 3,000,000 (three million) addresses of Business Houses under their appropriate headings.

Its circulation is guaranteed larger than any ten other Commercial Directories.

The prominent place it is to occupy at the Paris Exposition of 1900 will make it the best advertising medium in the world.

Advertising rates, price of Subscription, and carefully COMPILED LISTS of FOREIGN MANUFACTURERS and DEALERS throughout the world can be obtained from

J. CHENARD,
Gen. Agent and Manager for the U. S. and North America,
81 Times Building, New York City.

Readers and Writers have been Waiting for this Up-to-Date, Full-of-Matter, Moderate-Priced Reference Book,

THE STUDENTS' STANDARD DICTIONARY.

AN ABRIDGMENT OF

Funk & Wagnalls' Standard Dictionary

Large 8vo, 933 pages, cloth, leather back, net, $2.50: Sheep, $4.00; Indexed, 50c. additional.

Contains 60,000 Words and Phrases, and 1,225 Pictorial Illustrations.

Sent postpaid, on receipt of the price, by

The Baker & Taylor Co.

5 & 7 East Sixteenth St., New York.

Arnold Constable & Co.

Cotton Dress Fabrics.

Stripe Batistes, Printed Dimities, Embroidered Mulls and Nainsooks, White and Colored Piqués.

Anderson's Zephyrs.

Cheviots and Madras Cloths, Galatea Cloths.

Broadway & 19th st.

NEW YORK

Royal Academy Pictures, 1899.

In 5 Parts. Price, 40 cents each, or one vol., $3.00. Complete set, 1888 to 1898, price on application.

CASSELL & COMPANY, Limited,
7 AND 9 WEST 18TH ST., NEW YORK.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED